Anette Loesch

COLLECTED
EXPROPRIATED · LOST
RESTITUTED · GIFTED

THE GUSTAV VON KLEMPERER PORCELAIN COLLECTION

Staatliche
Kunstsammlungen
Dresden

COLLECTED · EXPROPRIATED · LOST RESTITUTED · GIFTED

THE GUSTAV VON KLEMPERER PORCELAIN COLLECTION

Anette Loesch

The association between the family of Gustav von Klemperer and the more recent institutional history of the Porcelain Collection (Porzellansammlung) of the Dresden State Art Collections (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, SKD) is a very close one. In chronological terms, it covers the collector's contacts with the historic Dresden Porcelain Collection in the 1920s; the expropriation of the Gustav von Klemperer Collection during the National Socialist period and its transfer to the Porcelain Collection, followed by its evacuation from Dresden during the war, which led to large losses; and, most recently, two restitutions to Gustav von Klemperer's descendants in 1991 and 2010. The goal of the project 'Reconstruction of the Porcelain Collection of the Dresden Banker Gustav von Klemperer' (2019–2021) is to research and document the losses suffered by the collection of Gustav and Charlotte von Klemperer, which once numbered 834 objects. The publication of the losses opens up the possibility of hitherto undiscovered objects from the collection being found and restituted to the family.

The forebears

Born on 24 March 1852 in Prague, Gustav was the son of Aron Moses Klemperer (1798–1873) and his second wife Henriette, née Meyer (1818–1905) of Dresden. He had two younger brothers, Felix (1853–1908) and Leon (1855–1917). Aron Moses, initially a bookkeeper at the calico printing factory of Hermann Wiener,[1] rose to become a trader and officially appointed broker ('Sensal'[2]), working under oath, on the Prague stock exchange, and 'Zensor' (official responsible for checking bills of exchange) at the 'Privilegirte oesterreichische National-Bank' in Prague. The level of prosperity he achieved made it possible for his sons to attend grammar school.

It is very likely that as Jews, the Klemperers had benefited from the reforms implemented by Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790). Eventually, the democratic ideas of the revolutions of 1848/49 led to the Jews being granted greater freedom and equality with other citizens under the law.

Gustav Klemperer

In 1866, the 14-year-old Gustav Klemperer commenced an apprenticeship in Dresden under the banker Julius Hirsch.[3] In 1871 he moved to the well-known banking house Robert Thode & Co., where a year later, at the age of only 20, he was granted general commercial power of representation.[4] In that year he lived at the 'Pension' (similar to a finishing school) of his maternal aunt Minna Meyer, who took in Jewish girls aged between 15 and 18 in order to prepare them for marriage in accordance with their social station. As well as receiving instruction on good manners and social graces, the girls learned various languages and were taught about art and literature. One evening, at a dance held at the 'Pension', Gustav made the acquaintance of the young lady who was to become his wife, Charlotte Engelmann (1857–1934), daughter of a rabbi from Prossnitz (in Czech, Prostějov). In 1875 they married at the house of the bride's parents in Olmütz (Olomouc).[5] Fifty years later, the celebrations on the occasion of their golden wedding anniversary in 1925 were a major Dresden social event (fig. 1).



1 — Medal commemorating the golden wedding anniversary of Gustav and Charlotte von Klemperer, 1925
Design: Ise Plehn, bronze, Ø 5.98 cm

By 1890 Klemperer was a member of the board of directors of the Dresdner Bank AG, finally leaving the banking house Robert Thode & Co. in 1891; along with Georg Arnstädt (1844 – 1911), he was to be one of the two most important figures to guide the Dresdner Bank on its path into the twentieth century.[6] In this capacity, Gustav Klemperer exerted great influence on the bank's business policy and on the economic development of major enterprises in the region.[7] It was due to Gustav Klemperer that the Dresdner Bank rose to become one of the major German banks. In parallel with his professional advance, in 1891/92 the family moved into an elegant and spacious villa at 25 Wiener Strasse, Dresden, as Gustav's representative and social functions made it increasingly necessary for him to have a suitable setting in which to perform his duties. This function was admirably fulfilled by the villa, which was furnished and decorated accordingly,[8] and it was during these years that Gustav built up his celebrated porcelain collection, which will be considered in greater detail below.

In 1899, Gustav Klemperer was appointed honorary vice-consul of Austria-Hungary and in 1905 honorary consul, eventually holding the office of consul general until 1918. The fact that Dresden was one of the German Reich's important centres of commerce and industry had led to the founding of an Austro-Hungarian honorary consulate for Saxony in 1903, to which Gustav Klemperer belonged as honorary consul. For his services in his capacity, Emperor Franz Joseph (1830 – 1916) granted Gustav Klemperer the hereditary noble title 'Edler von Klemenau', permitting him to bear his own coat of arms (fig. 2). Gustav von Klemperer now belonged to the social elite of the city of Dresden.



2 — The von Klemperer coat of arms, 1910

Although Gustav von Klemperer stepped down from his post as managing director of the parent house of the Dresdner Bank on 1 January 1914, he was made deputy chairman of the supervisory board shortly afterwards and performed this function until 1924. In this period he continued to work with great commitment for the benefit of the city of Dresden. Notably, he supported Dresden Technical University (Technische Hochschule Dresden), which needed assistance in funding its increasing number of faculties. In order to counter the financial crisis of the immediate post-war years the Technical University entered into discussions with the city of Dresden and the state of Saxony to seek a viable solution. This was found in the creation of what was named an 'emergency collective for German science' ('Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft'), which was to be the forerunner of the present-day 'Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft' (DFG, 'German research collective'). In this period especially, the Technical University's scientific spectrum was extended considerably through the creation of numerous new chairs and institutes.[9] Furthermore, the year 1921 saw the foundation, with the participation of a number of well-known German banks and industrial enterprises and trade associations, of the Society of Patrons and Friends of Dresden Technical

University (Gesellschaft von Förderern und Freunden der Technischen Hochschule Dresden e. V.).[10] Gustav von Klemperer was a founder member of the society and its treasurer until 1923. His three sons – Victor, Ralph Leopold and the Berlin resident Herbert Otto – were also members.[11] Subsequently, the office of treasurer was occupied by other representatives of renowned banks: Willy Osswald (?–1929; Deutsche Bank), Victor von Klemperer (Dresdner Bank) and Adolf Arnhold (1884–1950; Bankhaus Gebrüder Arnhold). Amongst the major sponsors were, in addition to the banking house Gebrüder Arnhold, the brewery Aktienbrauerei zu Reisewitz, the pharmaceutical factory Chemische Fabrik von Heyden, and the electrical engineering company Sachsenwerk Licht und Kraft AG. Around 1930, the society already boasted 450 members from all over Germany. Even as early as the Technical University's centenary year of 1928, however, National Socialism was becoming an increasingly influential force, there no less than elsewhere. In 1932, no fewer than 11 Dresden professors appended their signatures to the appeal issued by the Stuttgart professor Wilhelm Stortz (1883–1944) calling for support for the Nazi party (NSDAP), which led to endorsements on the part of a total of 51 from Dresden in all.[12]

Gustav von Klemperer died unexpectedly on 27 December 1926 and was laid to rest at the New Jewish Cemetery, Dresden.

The sons Victor, Herbert Otto and Ralph Leopold von Klemperer

Gustav von Klemperer worked single-mindedly to advance in his chosen profession. He funded the best possible education for his sons, all three of whom completed their university studies with doctorates, went on to be successful in their careers, and were highly respected in the upper-middle-class circles in which they moved.[13]

Ralph Leopold (1884–1956), the youngest son of Gustav and Charlotte, studied chemistry at Dresden and Jena from 1904 to 1910,[14] receiving his doctorate from the Technische Hochschule Dresden in 1910. Between 1910 and 1913 he worked as an engineer at the Škoda plant in Pilsen (Plzeň), Bohemia, and from 1913 to 1914 was director-general of the Škoda works in Vienna.[15] In 1913 Ralph Leopold married the Berlin-born Lili Huldschinsky (1893–1979), youngest daughter of the Jewish mining





3 and 4 — Two views of the salon, 86 Wiener Strasse, before 1937



**5 — Small dining room,
86 Wiener Strasse, before 1937**

entrepreneur, industrial magnate, patron of the arts and important art collector Oskar Huldschinsky (1846–1931).[16] Lili herself painted, making portrait miniatures of family members. It can only be speculated whether the couple's shared passion for art was fired more by Lili or by Ralph Leopold under the influence of their respective fathers Oskar and Gustav, and it is likewise not absolutely clear whether they themselves built up collections of their own; but what is certain is that they had both grown up surrounded by art in their family homes.

Ralph Leopold served in the Austrian army from 1914 to 1918. With the foundation of the state of Czechoslovakia in 1919 a new board of directors was appointed at the Škoda works and the General Directorate moved from Vienna to Prague. These changes led to Ralph Leopold taking up a new field of activity as managing director of the cardboard packaging company AG für Cartonnagen-Industrie Dresden from 1919 to 1936, moving with his family to a villa at 86 Wiener Strasse in Dresden between 1919 and 1920.[17]

Various photographs of the salon at the villa (figs. 3 and 4) clearly show his father's collection of miniatures, which Ralph Leopold had inherited, with the miniatures arranged on the walls or standing grouped on chests of drawers. [18] A photograph of the small dining room (fig. 5) is notable for four high-format panels on the right-hand wall and a horizontal-format panel above the glass display case together with a screen made of similar panels at the left-hand edge. These are almost certainly Chinese lacquer panels containing inlaid motifs of archaic vessels and flowers in jade, agate and other gemstones.[19] The artefacts may be taken as an indication of Ralph Leopold and Lili's love of East Asian art; similarly, his brother Herbert Otto and, as was not known until recently, his mother Charlotte had also assembled collections in this field.

Industry in Dresden had flourished before the First World War, and the city was known as a manufacturing centre for, among other products, chocolate, cigarettes, cameras, typewriters and sewing machines.[20] The AG für Cartonnagen-Industrie was one these new companies, with a wide range of products including cardboard boxes, paper cores, hat boxes, chocolate boxes, envelopes, quill cases, paper cornets and paper bags.

In 1927 the theme of the Jahresschau Deutscher Arbeit in Dresden was 'Paper'. The Jahresschauen Deutscher Arbeit were annual exhibitions that took place from 1922 to 1931 to promote German industry, science and trades. The 1927 exhibition showcased all the fields of application relating to the production, processing and use of paper. Ralph Leopold was involved in setting up the exhibition. In the official guide Victor von Klemperer is also mentioned as a 'specialist assistant' in the preparations for the exhibition in Group II ('Paper production – paper processing: machines').[21]

Between 1920 and 1936 Ralph Leopold was a member of the supervisory boards of various commercial and industrial organizations, board member of the metalware industry association Reichsbund der Metallwarenindustrie, and member of the main committee of the industrial federation Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie. During this time he also co-founded the Dresden Rotary Club. Even before 1933 antisemitic tendencies had begun to make themselves felt in the club, leading to Ralph Leopold's resignation in 1934. In February 1937 he and his wife visited their eldest son Hubert Ralph (1914–1999), who had already emigrated to South Africa in January 1936.[22] In May 1937, at their son's urging, Ralph Leopold, his wife Lili and their three other children Friedrich Oskar (1917–2010), Ida Charlotte (1919–2015) and Marie (1923–2012) emigrated on visitors' visas to Margate, in the South African province of Natal. Later the family were granted immigration visas. Ralph Leopold repositioned himself professionally, and in order to finance the new family firm of Standard Yoke & Timber Mills Ltd in Pietermaritzburg, he sold part of the collection of miniatures he had inherited from his father. From 1939 to his death in 1956 he was chairman and managing director of the timber mills.[23]

Herbert Otto (1878–1951) studied in Dresden to doctoral level, afterwards moving to Berlin. By the age of thirty he was on the board of directors of Berliner Maschinenbau AG (formerly L. Schwartzkopff), becoming managing director from 1918, a post he held until his forced resignation in 1937.[24] The company produced locomotives, torpedoes and machines for road construction and printing.

In 1909 Herbert Otto married Frieda Kuffner (1881–1945), born in Vienna. She was the daughter of Wilhelm Edler von Kuffner (1846–1923), senior member of a Viennese beer-brewing dynasty.[25] The couple and their four children lived in Berlin in a villa at 1 Victoriastrasse on the corner of Tiergartenstrasse.[26] From 1923 Herbert Otto was a member and then from 1933 deputy chairman of the supervisory board of the Wanderer-Werke in Siegmar-Schönau.[27] By then he was firmly anchored in the upper echelons of 1920s Berlin society, belonging to the Wannsee golf and country club and the elite 'Club von Berlin', which was a meeting place for private bankers and directors of large stock companies and industrial concerns. As a member of the supervisory board of the Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie, Herbert Otto belonged to the business elite of the imperial German capital.[28]

Herbert Otto von Klemperer as collector

Among the visitors to Herbert Otto von Klemperer's house were the Crown Prince of Sweden, later King Gustav VI (1882–1973), and Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914), later heir presumptive to the throne of Austria-Hungary. With the latter he shared a passion for collecting East Asian art. It is unsurprising that Herbert Otto also sought contact with the director of the Dresden Porcelain Collection, Ernst Zimmermann (1866–1940).[29] As early as 1911 he made a gift to the Porcelain Collection of a crayfish-shaped Chinese wine ewer from the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) with an enamel glaze over a biscuit-fired body.[30] The same year his father also donated two objects to the collection, though neither of these has been preserved.[31] At the beginning of 1920 Herbert Otto once again turned to Ernst Zimmermann, offering him a Chinese blue-and-white covered box dating from between 1522 and 1566 in exchange for eight small East Asian figures from the Collection's duplicate holdings of *émail sur biscuit*.[32] These included a small water vessel in the form of a mouse, two violet and two green parrots, a seated elephant, a very small reclining dog and a standing buffalo. The Saxon



6 — Covered box, Jingdezhen, China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Jiajing era (1522–1566)
H. 18 cm, Ø 26.5 cm

ministry responsible for giving permission for the exchange demanded that the pieces be assessed independently by an auction house in order to arrive at a concrete price. The valuation came to 6,050 marks for all the objects together. As an expert on the market, Zimmermann valued the covered box at 7,000 to 8,000 marks. The exchange took place and on 14 February 1920 Herbert Otto von Klemperer confirmed receipt of the eight small figures in Berlin.[33] The covered box, having been returned from Russia in 1958, is still in the possession of the Dresden Porcelain Collection (fig. 6).

This example demonstrates the connections that existed between museums and private collectors in Dresden at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the metropolis of Berlin the network was considerably more developed. A central figure in this was Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), who had founded the Collection of East Asian Art at the Royal Berlin Museums on 8 November 1906. His aim was to establish an institution that would stand side by side on equal terms with the museums of European art. In 1924 the first exhibition showcasing the Royal Museums' Collection of East Asian Art was held at the museum on Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse, formerly the Museum of Applied Arts (today the Martin-Gropius-Bau), to universal acclaim. The exhibition was the prelude to the inaugural meeting of the Society for East Asian Art held on 23 January 1926 in the lecture hall of the State Art Library. The meeting was chaired by Herbert Otto von Klemperer, who also became a patron of the society.[34] According to Leopold Reidemeister (1900–1987),[35] it was also von Klemperer's patronage that ensured one was 'in today's parlance, "in" if one belonged to this society'.[36]

Along with many other activities, the society – in alliance with the Prussian Academy in Berlin headed by Max Liebermann – mounted a large exhibition of Chinese art in 1929. In the foreword to the catalogue, Otto Kümmel described it as the first in Europe that attempted to present a comprehensive picture of the development of Chinese art.[37] The list of lenders to the exhibition included numerous well-known connoisseurs of East Asian art. Among the private lenders were the Berlin painter and collector Walter Bondy, the banker Herbert Gutmann, the Frankfurt art dealer Zacharias Max Hackenbroch, the antiques

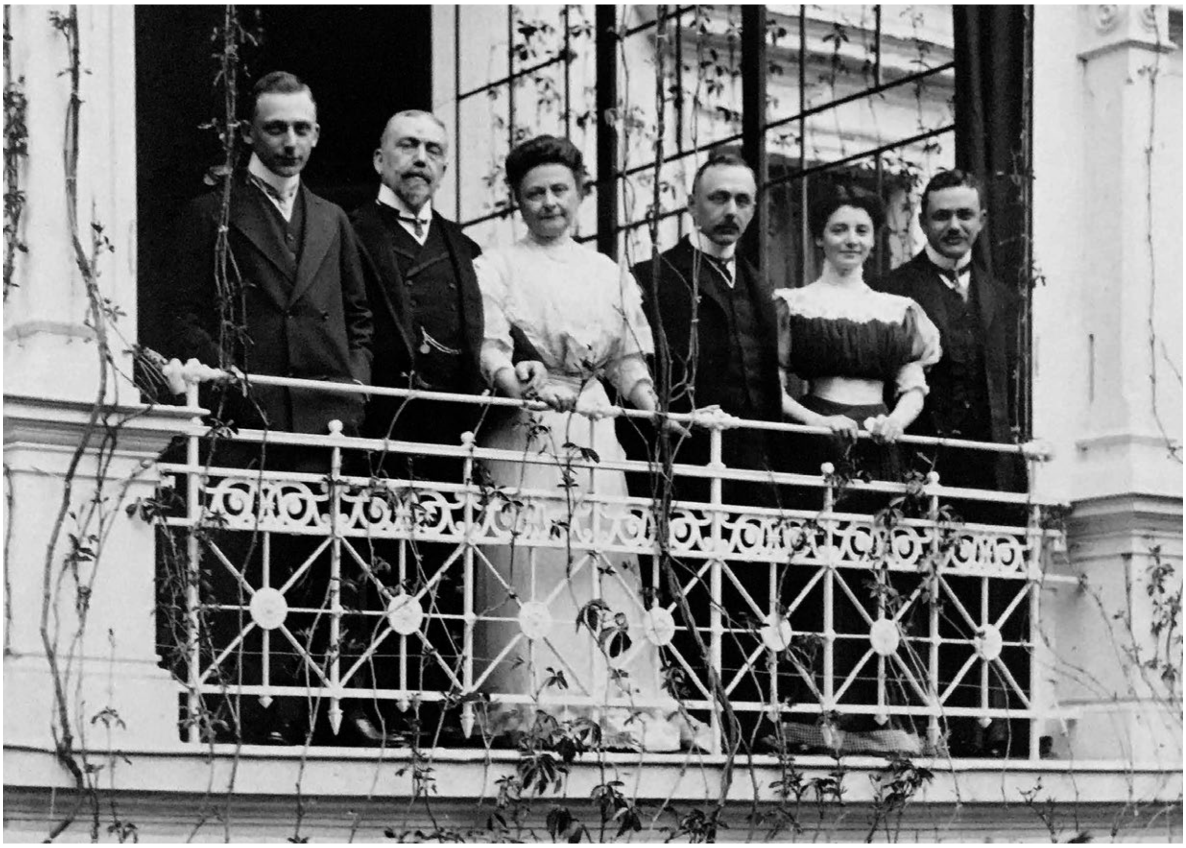
dealer Hugo Helbing, and Oscar Rücker-Embden from Hamburg, from whose collection the almost thousand-year-old Chinese Ru ware bowl now in the Dresden Porcelain Collection derives.[38] Many well-known figures from the 1920s, above all those from upper-middle-class Jewish circles, were passionate collectors of Chinese art and loaned their art objects to the exhibition, the outstanding success of which was in no small measure due to loans from renowned private collectors and public lenders. Herbert Otto von Klemperer was the chairman of the main working committee responsible for the show and was himself represented with forty-one objects from his collection – including twenty-seven porcelain figures from the *émail sur biscuit* group, which without doubt constituted the core of his collection.[39] Among some ten other objects he lent to the exhibition were East Asian vessels, plates and bowls of porcelain and other ceramics, two bronzes (one dating from between 206 BCE and 220 CE and the other from the time between 1368 and 1644), and an ivory figure from around 1700. His mother Charlotte von Klemperer also contributed with ten different eighteenth-century Chinese snuff bottles. She had a particular affection for this genre of snuff receptacles and possessed an impressive collection of them. They were kept in her study in a three-section display cabinet (fig. 7). After Charlotte's death in 1934 a number of these pieces were inherited by Herbert Otto, who put them up for sale at auction in London in 1939 in order to provide funds for his sick wife, their children and himself.[40]



7 — Charlotte von Klemperer's study, 25 Wiener Strasse, before 1933

Despite his high standing in Berlin society, Herbert Otto von Klemperer lost all his posts in 1938. His membership of all his clubs was cancelled, and he and his family were forced to leave their last apartment at 1 Drakestrasse.[41] Until emigrating to Britain in 1939 the family lived in a hotel in Berlin. In 1946 Herbert Otto, now a widower (Frieda having died in 1945), finally managed to emigrate from England to the USA. By this time, the family's valuable possessions – paintings from the seventeenth and eighteenth century, European applied arts objects and Eastern Asian objects – had long since been sold at various auction houses in Berlin.[42]

In 2016, Ekkehard Klausa, author and associate professor of sociology, made the following trenchant remark on Herbert Otto's fate: 'This precipitous fall from the heights of society to rock bottom, from a captain of industry to derelict whose only salvation from persecution and ultimately from the murderous henchmen of the Holocaust was to flee abroad, is the part of the German betrayal of civilized values that took place not in the secrecy of the extermination camps but in full view in our country and in our city [Berlin].'[43]



8 — The von Klemperer family, 25 Wiener Strasse, 1907
Left to right: Ralph Leopold, Gustav and Charlotte, Victor and Sophie, Herbert Otto

Victor (1876–1943), Gustav von Klemperer's eldest son, studied jurisprudence at the universities of Halle an der Saale, Berlin and Freiburg im Breisgau, receiving his doctorate in 1898. After completing his compulsory military service he worked for the Dresdner Bank in Hamburg and then spent two years in the USA, working for a New York bank, before taking up a post as private secretary to Isidor Loewe (1848–1910)[44] at Ludwig Loewe & Co. AG, living and working in Berlin. In 1904 he returned to working for the Dresdner Bank, at first as private secretary to the founder and chairman of the board Eugen Gutmann (1840–1925) in Berlin. In 1906 he met Sophie Reichenheim (1887–1967), daughter of the Berlin industrial magnate Julius Reichenheim (1836–1905), marrying her in 1907 (see fig. 8). In 1909, at Victor's instigation, the Dresdner Bank opened a branch in Leipzig, in the building up of which Victor likewise played the leading role. At the urging of his father, he took over the managing directorship of the Dresdner Bank in Dresden from 1914. Interrupted only by service in the army from 1914 to 1918, he occupied this position until May 1934 and was thus responsible for all company decisions pertaining to the region of Saxony and central Germany. He represented the interests of the bank on a number of supervisory boards of industrial and commercial enterprises in Saxony.[45] Victor also sat on the supervisory board of the Baugesellschaft für die Residenzstadt Dresden AG,[46] until June 1938. The reason for his demission from this office was most probably the Third Supplementary Decree of the German Citizenship Law (Dritte Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz) of 14 June 1938.

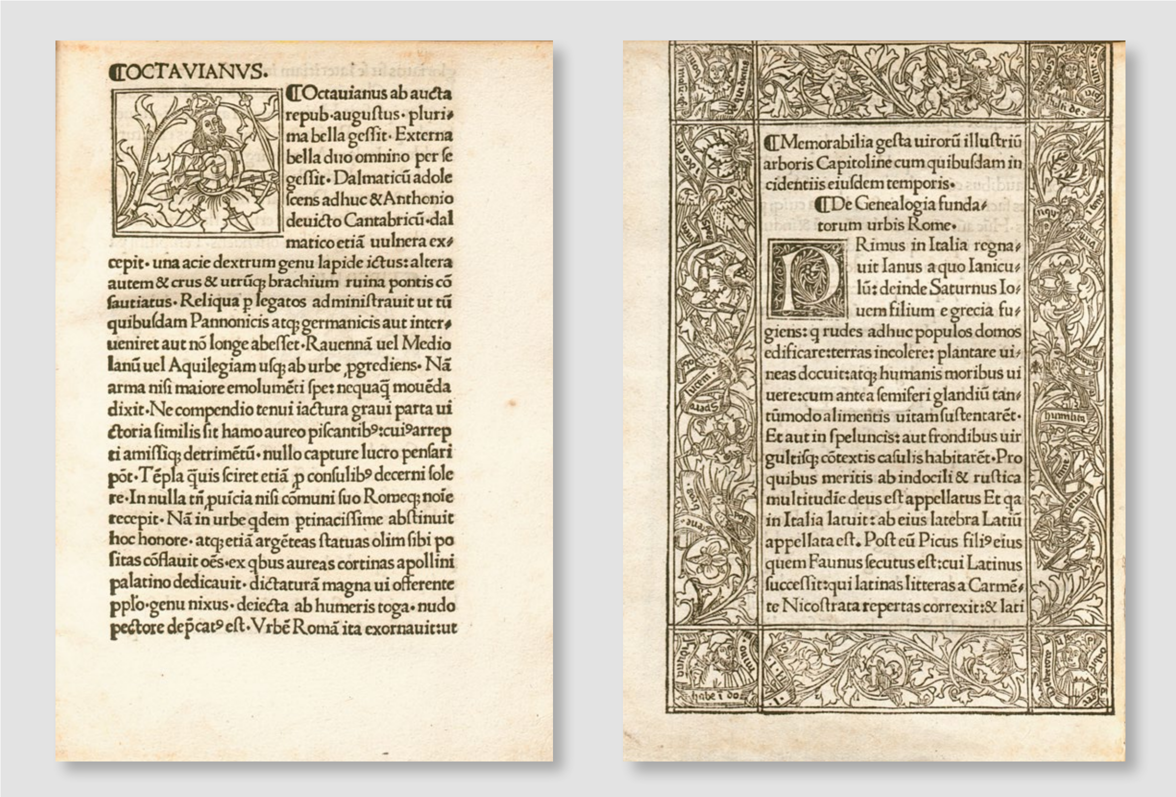
Like Gustav von Klemperer, from as early as 1923 Victor became active above and beyond simple membership in the Society of Patrons and Friends of Dresden Technical University (Gesellschaft von Förderern und Freunden der Technischen Hochschule Dresden) that had been founded in 1921, both on the administrative council and the committee. In 1929 Victor was appointed deputy treasurer of the society, advancing to treasurer in the following financial year, an office he held until the end of 1932.[47] For his services he was made an honorary senator of the Technische Hochschule Dresden in 1930.[48] Nine years later, in 1939, his chain of honour was 'provisionally seized' by the Gestapo in a search of his villa at 64 Tiergartenstrasse and subsequently sent to the Ministry of Education (Ministerium für Volksbildung, of Saxony).[49] The ministry ultimately handed it over to the vice-chancellor (Rektor) of the Technische Hochschule, Wilhelm Jost (1887–1948).[50] In November 1938 the latter had already reported to the head of the Ministry of Education that on account of their 'non-Aryan descent', Victor von Klemperer and three other named honorary senators would no longer bear this title. It was ultimately the Reich Minister of Science, Education and National Culture Bernhard Rust (1883–1945) who decided on the removal of honorary dignitaries from the lists of the universities. The letter mentioned above was dated 8 November 1938[51] – one day later, on the night of the Pogrom, synagogues burned, Jewish property was destroyed and confiscated, and people were driven to their deaths.

Victor became increasingly beset, losing his seats on supervisory boards in 1934. Until 1935 he received the agreed payments, which however were gratuitously halved as from 1 July 1936 and were paid until August 1938. The decision to leave Germany was a hard one. Back in 1937 his brother Ralph Leopold had written to him about the favourable possibilities for settling in Margate in the South African province of Natal.[52] In April 1938 Victor, by now aged sixty-two, left Germany with his wife. After a number of difficulties they were eventually granted asylum in South Africa, later settling in Bulawayo, then in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.[53]

Before fleeing Dresden Victor had the house on Tiergartenstrasse and its interiors recorded by the well-known Dresden photographer Genja Jonas (1895–1938). With these as reminders, and at the urging of his wife, he began to write his memoirs in June 1938, completing them in August 1942. This account of his life impressively conveys to the reader the unimaginable strain suffered by the whole von Klemperer family following their forced migration, the loss of their property, possessions and financial resources, and arrival in what was at first an alien country where they had to reframe their lives.[54]



9 — Victor von Klemperer (left) and Konrad Haebeler, 64 Tiergartenstrasse, c. 1925


OCTAVIANVS.
Octauianus ab aucta
repub·augustus· pluri-
ma bella gessit· Externa
bella duo omnino per se
gessit· Dalmaticũ adole
scens adhuc & Anthonio
deuicto Cantabricũ·dal
matico etiã uulnera ex-
cepit· una acie dextrum genu lapide ictus: altera
autem & crus & utrũq; brachium ruina pontis cõ
sauciatus· Reliqua ꝑ legatos administrauit ut tũ
quibusdam Pannonicis atq; germanicis aut inter-
ueniret aut nõ longe abesset·Rauennã uel Medio
lanũ uel Aquilegiam usq; ab urbe ꝓgrediens· Nã
arma nisi maiore emoluměti spe: nequaq̃ mouěda
dixit·Ne compendio tenui iactura graui parta ui
ctoria similis sit hamo aureo piscantib9:cui9arrep
ti amissiq; detrimětũ· nullo capture lucro pensari
põt·Těpla q̃uis sciret etiã ꝓ consulib9 decerni sole
re·In nulla tñ ꝓuícia nisi cõmuni suo Romeq; noíe
recepit· Nã in urbe qdem ꝑtinacissime abstinuit
hoc honore· atq; etiã argěteas statuas olim sibi po
sitas cõflauit oẽs·ex qbus aureas cortinas apollini
palatino dedicauit· dictaturã magna ui offerente
ppl'o·genu nixus· deiecta ab humeris toga· nudo
pectore depcat9 est·Vrbě Romã ita exornauit:ut

Memorabilia gesta uirorũ illustriũ
arboris Capitoline cum quibusdam in
cidentiis eiusdem temporis.
De Genealogia funda-
torum urbis Rome.
PRimus in Italia regna-
uit Ianus a quo Ianicu-
lũ: deinde Saturnus Io-
uem filium e grecia fu-
giens: q rudes adhuc populos domos
edificare:terras incolere: plantare ui-
neas docuit:atq; humanis moribus ui
uere:cum antea semiferi glandiũ tan-
tũmodo alimentis uitam sustentarět·
Et aut in speluncis: aut frondibus uir
gultisq; cõtextis casulis habitarět·Pro
quibus meritis ab indocili & rustica
multitudíe deus est appellatus Et qa
in Italia latuit: ab eius latebra Latiũ
appellata est. Post eũ Picus fili9 eius
quem Faunus secutus est:cui Latinus
successit:qui latinas litteras a Carmě-
te Nicostrata repertas correxit:& lati

10 — Thomas Ochsenbrunner: *Priscorum heroum stemmata* [with a dedication by the author to Cardinal Paulus de Campofrigoso and a poem by Andreas Prenestinus], Rome, 18 February 1494
Woodcut, c. 15 × 20 cm, fol. 2v (p. 6) and 20r (p. 41)
These incunabula correspond to cat. no. CCXXXVI, p. 194, ill. p. 188, in Victor von Klemperer's collection catalogue *Frühdrucke aus der Bücherei Victor von Klemperer* (Dresden, 1927). These two incunabula are amongst those regarded as lost.

Victor von Klemperer as a collector

During his student days in Berlin Victor began to acquire books on subjects that interested him personally. It was above all first editions from the eighteenth century in original bindings that kindled his passion.[55] These were soon followed by incunabula, that is, books and broadsheets dating from before 1500 and printed with moveable type, which in terms of form mostly imitated medieval manuscripts and are still regarded as particularly precious cultural artefacts today.

Victor's extensive collection of incunabula was among the most important in Europe. In 1927, supported by the expertise of Konrad Haebler (1857–1946), doyen of German incunabula scholarship (fig. 9), Victor von Klemperer published the catalogue *Frühdrucke aus der Bücherei Victor von Klemperers* ('Incunabula from the Library of Victor von Klemperer') (fig. 10). His collection continued to grow steadily; as he explains in the preface to the catalogue: 'The spirit that was alive in my family home and the omnifarious interests cultivated in it which found expression in an untiring quest for collection in all different fields of art surely contributed to awakening in me very early on a pronounced penchant for collecting rare and beautiful books.'[56] In November 1938 his collection was seized and in 1942 finally transferred to the ownership of the Dresden State Collections. At this point it comprised thirteen manuscripts, 549 incunabula and 510 valuable editions together with other art objects such as paintings, prints and drawings, sculptures, carpets and precious furniture.[57] After May 1945, only twenty-one incunabula – which had somehow escaped confiscation by the Soviet 'trophy brigades' – returned from the various sites outside Dresden where the State Collections had evacuated their holdings for safekeeping during the Second World War. With the return of library holdings from the Soviet Union in 1958, the medieval manuscripts ended up in the Saxon State Library (Sächsische

Landesbibliothek), where they were reunited as one deposit with the incunabula and bibliophile editions that had been evacuated. Of these, 295 works were restituted to the heirs of the family as their rightful property in 1991.[58] The remaining bibliophile treasures are today held in the Moscow State Library.

The porcelain collection of Charlotte and Gustav von Klemperer



11 – Gustav and Charlotte Klemperer on the island of Norderney, c. 1900

The collecting of Meissen and East Asian porcelain has a long tradition, its prime example being the Royal Porcelain Collection of Augustus the Strong at the Japanese Palace in Dresden.[59] From that time on, this unparalleled collection has been an inspiration to private collectors.

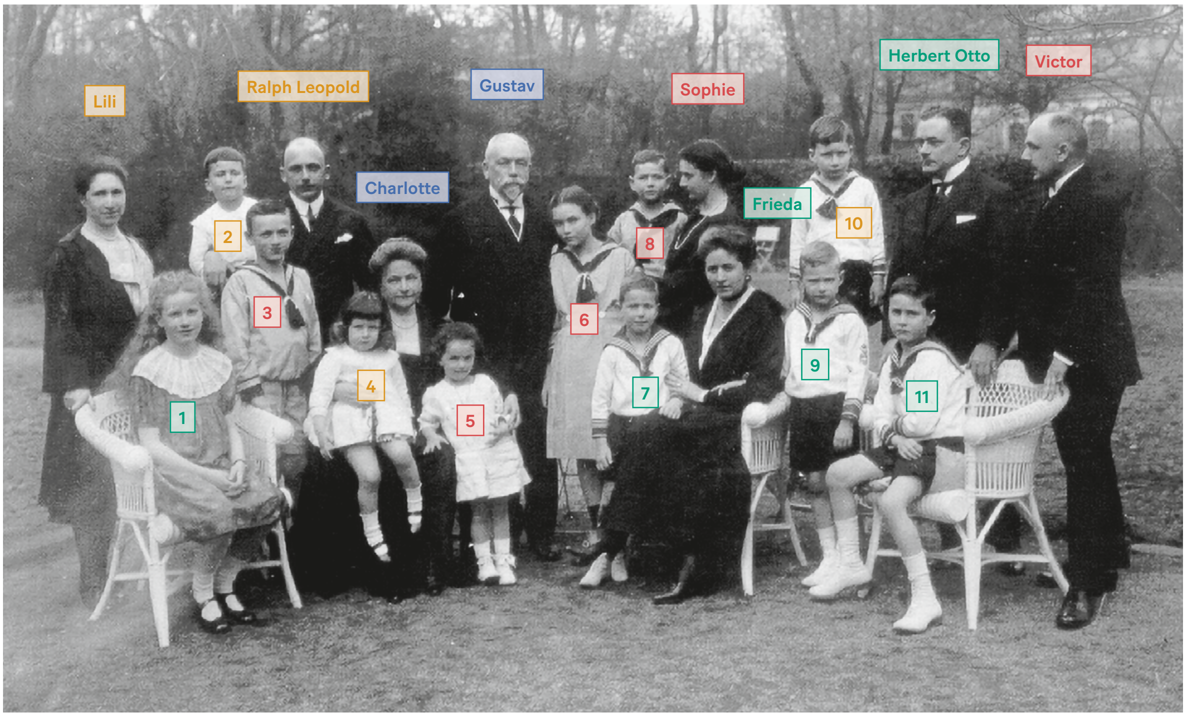
The first person to collect eighteenth-century Meissen porcelain in mid to late nineteenth-century Germany was the Dresden physician Carl Gustav Adolf Spitzner (1831–1899). In 1890 the Dresden Porcelain Collection was able to acquire his collection, which comprised 1,400 individual figural objects and items of hollow ware, from Böttger stoneware to porcelain from the Marcolini era, and still bears witness to Spitzner's exquisite taste. The inventory attests to a cross-section of the production of the Meissen porcelain manufactory in the form of precious examples of mostly smaller-format objects.[60] Another highly important Dresden collection featuring eighteenth-century porcelain made at Meissen and other manufactories was that of C. H. Fischer from Dresden, which was sold at auction in 1906 and 1918.[61] From 1926 Lisa (1890–1972) and Heinrich Arnhold (1885–1935, of the banking house Gebrüder Arnhold) began building up a collection of highest-quality Meissen porcelain. They were able to salvage 270 pieces when they fled Germany for exile in the USA.[62] The Arnholds frequented the same professional and social circles as the family of Gustav von Klemperer. Around 1900 (fig. 11), the latter had begun to amass a collection of Meissen porcelain, which by 1928, the year of the famous catalogue, numbered almost nine hundred objects. In both quality and quantity, the Klemperer Collection was among the most important private collections in Germany in the first decades of the twentieth century.

One of the enterprises that Gustav von Klemperer supported as a member of the supervisory board was the porcelain manufactory of Philipp Rosenthal (1855–1937) in Selb. It was possibly during these years that he began to develop a liking for porcelain, though as a collector he focused his attention on the famous Royal Porcelain Manufactory at Meissen with its long and rich tradition. As unfortunately no written record of his acquisitions has survived, today there is little documentary indication of the provenance of the porcelain in his collection. He would with certainty have had a close relationship with the art and antique dealers in Dresden, who not only offered choice objects for sale but were also on hand with help and advice.[63]

Thus he was present at the auction of duplicates from the State Collections of Saxony which took place from 12 to 14 October 1920.[64] A momentous event of its time for the art market, the auction was held at the Sächsischer Kunstverein on Brühlsche Terrasse in Dresden and was attended by the

VIPs of the collecting world: the directors of the Dresden museums and those from Berlin, Nuremberg, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Leipzig and Munich as well as representatives from foreign museums. Numerous collectors were present, among them Hermine Feist from Berlin. In an extant copy of the auction catalogue preserved at the Dresden Porcelain Collection Gustav's name is noted beside two Japanese covered bowls with stands, strongly indicating that he purchased these objects.[65] At the Hugo Helbing auction house in Munich the sale of a 'Sammlung bedeutender Porzellane aus ausländischem Adelsbesitz' ('Collection of important porcelain from a foreign aristocratic estate') in 1911 saw a sensational porcelain clock case come under the hammer, being sold for 6,700 marks and later appearing under the number 481 in Gustav von Klemperer's collection catalogue of 1928.[66] One of Gustav's most important advisors was Hermann Ball, a respected Dresden antiques dealer who later, in association with Paul Graupe, ran the Berlin auction house 'Hermann Ball – Paul Graupe'.[67]

For three decades Gustav and Charlotte von Klemperer devoted themselves with passion and expertise to building up their collection. Objects were not acquired under the aspect of their quality as museum pieces or with a view to forming specialized fields or groups – the only criteria were their personal tastes and inclinations. As it says in the introduction to the catalogue of the collection published later on: 'They wished above all to live alongside their collection, to see it all around them as exquisite decoration in their living quarters and on their festive dining table.'[68] The opulent display of porcelain on the walls, tables and consoles must have left a deep impression on the family's numerous guests and provided the stimulus for many an animated discussion. According to Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1877–1945),[69] however, Gustav von Klemperer's prime concern was to leave something lasting and of enduring value to his twelve grandchildren (fig. 12). Moreover, the catalogue was intended as a gift to his friends with whom he had shared the enjoyment of his collection.[70]



12 — The von Klemperer family in the garden at 25 Wiener Strasse, 1922
Gustav and Charlotte von Klemperer
Victor and Sophie von Klemperer with their four children:
3 – Peter Ralph, 5 – Dorothea Elisabeth, 6 – Sophie Charlotte, 8 – Gustav Victor
Herbert Otto and Frieda von Klemperer with their four children:
1 – Lilly Camilla, 7 – Klemens Wilhelm, 9 – Alfred Herbert, 11 – Franz Erwin
Ralph Leopold and Lili von Klemperer with their three children (the fourth child, Marie, was born in 1923)
2 – Friedrich Oskar, 4 – Ida Charlotte, 10 – Hubert Ralph

Eminent museum directors or custodians frequently compiled catalogues for private collections, for example Ernst Zimmermann, Karl Berling and also Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, who had already catalogued the large collection of Ludwig Darmstaedter (1846–1927).[71] Such projects sometimes yielded opportunities for acquiring individual pieces for the museum in question. In 1926 von Klemperer commissioned the art historian Schnorr von Carolsfeld to catalogue his collection. However, Gustav von Klemperer died on 27 December 1926 and thus never saw the publication of the catalogue. His son Victor fulfilled his father's wishes. Schnorr von Carolsfeld was greatly supported by Charlotte von Klemperer, who knew the history and provenance of every last object. The knowledge of the Leipzig collector Georg Wilhelm Schulz (1873–1945) and the director of design at the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory, Erich Hösel (1869–1951), also contributed to the work, with the result that the catalogue of the Klemperer Collection became an indispensable work of reference for private collectors and museum professionals. This publication of what was probably the most important private collection of eighteenth-century Meissen porcelain in Germany constituted a significant contribution to scholarship in this field. In passing, mention should be made of the catalogue of Klemperer's important collection of miniatures from Germany, Austria, Britain, France, Holland, Italy, Russia, Sweden and Switzerland compiled by the respected art historian and director of the Stuttgarter Schlossmuseum Hans Buchheit (1878–1961) and also published in 1928.[72]

The porcelain catalogue was printed on handmade paper with the family coat of arms as its watermark by Jakob Hegner (1882–1962), who worked as a printer, publisher and translator in the garden city of Hellerau near Dresden. Using both classic and new typefaces, his beautifully executed editions were highly prized. The bindings with sparing decoration in Bauhaus style were designed by the acclaimed bookbinder Peter A. Demeter (1875–1939), who had worked for Hegner until 1918. His bindings are supreme examples of craftsmanship. Printed in only 150 copies, the large-format bibliophile catalogue constitutes a fitting cover for the objects presented within.[73] Measuring 42 by 32 centimetres, Demeter's bindings gave all three collection catalogues – on the porcelain, the miniatures, and Victor's incunabula – a uniform and prestigious appearance.

The catalogue of the porcelain collection lists a total of 834 items, some of which cover multiple objects, for example a dozen plates or an entire service. The descriptions are impressively succinct. Each object is dated, and, where tenable, attributed to decorators or modellers. All special markings such as the factory mark, the form or model number, decorators' signatures and so on are meticulously recorded. Occasionally details are given of pieces for comparison in other collections. The outstanding pieces in the collection are illustrated in ninety-five plates, printed in collotype by the company of Stengel & Co. in Dresden.

The porcelain assembled by von Klemperer dates from between 1710 and 1775, with the majority of pieces dating from between 1735 and 1750. The catalogue starts with an overall presentation of Meissen porcelain, the first years of the manufactory being represented by a number of Böttger stoneware objects. There follows a chapter entitled 'Geschirr und Galanterien' ('Tableware and fancy objects'), which are subdivided in accordance with various forms of decoration such as gold chinoiseries, landscapes, harbour scenes, and floral décors with, to use Schnorr von Carolsfeld's terminology, 'dry' flowers (adopted from woodcuts) and 'natural' flowers (*deutsche Blumen*). The 'fancy' objects include boxes, small bottles, cane handles and pictorial plaques. The next chapter bears the title 'Gefäße und Geräte plastischen Charakters' ('Vessels and practical pieces plastic in character'), presenting markedly sculptural items ranging from vases, clocks, candlesticks and baskets through to vessels in the form of animals, chess figures, and centrepieces. The most extensive chapter deals with the collection of groups and figures – 'Gruppen und Figuren' – which are arranged according to subject, for example, *commedia dell'arte* figures, equestrian statuettes, huntsmen, soldiers, beggars, peas-

ants, miners and artisans, and last but not least the crinoline figures which won Meissen its unparalleled reputation in the field of sculptural figures. A further chapter focuses on 'Deutsche Hausmalerei', the *Hausmaler* being porcelain painters who did porcelain decoration outside the manufactory or decorated porcelain acquired from other manufactories in their own homes. These included such well-known artists as Christoph Conrad Hunger (*flor.* 1717–1748), Ignaz Preußler (1676–1741), Ignaz Bottengruber (active in Breslau 1720/1730?) and Johann Aufenwerth (1662–1728) with his daughters, all of whom are represented with pieces in the Klemperer Collection. The last chapter was reserved for German and foreign manufactories – 'Deutsche und ausländische Manufakturen' – and included just a small number of objects documenting the production at Plaue an der Havel, Vienna, Venice, Doccia and Chelsea. An appendix contains an index and ninety-five plates with illustrations of selected pieces from the collection.

In his extensive preface to the catalogue Schnorr von Carolsfeld expatiates on Gustav von Klemperer's collection in his capacity as a porcelain specialist. The valuable information contained therein provides an excellent complement to the catalogue entries. He considers the invention of European porcelain by Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682–1719) and the technical possibilities inherent in porcelain decoration, the form numbers, and the creations of Johann Gregorius Höroldt (1696–1775) and his workshop, also quoting examples from other collections for comparison. The catalogue, of which Charlotte von Klemperer also presented a copy to the library of the Dresden Porcelain Collection on 6 December 1928, was both a sumptuously handsome tome and a scholarly work in its own right.[74]

By the 1920s the collection had become so extensive that it was not only well-known to the von Klemperer family's circle of friends and Dresden connoisseurs but had also attracted the attention of the authorities. In accordance with the law on the export of works of art (Verordnung über die Ausfuhr von Kunstwerken) of 11 December 1919, the Interior Ministry was obliged to keep a list of objects requiring protection, in which the Klemperer Collection was to be included. The reason for this act was the 'precipitate outflow of the most outstanding quality of art, which commenced soon after the revolution'.[75] The government felt it was necessary to secure the prime art treasures in private hands for the German nation.[76] The Reich Minister of the Interior, Erich Koch-Weser (1875–1944), ruled that



13 — Lady with a 'blackamoor' and a cavalier kissing her hand, model by Johann Joachim Kaendler, Meissen, between 1737 and 1740 Illustration in the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection, 1928



14 — Beltrame and Columbine, Johann Joachim Kaendler, Meissen, c. 1741 Illustration in the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection, 1928

only a selection of the most important pieces from the Klemperer Collection should be made, which was communicated to the Ministry for Cultural Affairs and Public Education by Ernst Zimmermann in January 1920. He proposed a crinoline group with a seated lady, cavalier and 'blackamoor' (fig. 13), a *commedia dell'arte* group with Beltrame and Columbine (fig. 14), a dog reclining on a cushion, and a group of dogs made up of a dam and her two whelps.[77] The legislation thus had no consequences for Gustav von Klemperer, as he enjoyed good relations with Zimmermann on account of their specialist dealings and there was in any case no question of the collection being put up for sale.

After the death of her husband in 1926 Charlotte lived on her own for seven years at their villa on Wiener Strasse, surrounded by their porcelain. All the children had meanwhile set up their own homes – Ralph Leopold and Victor close by and Herbert Otto in Berlin. In 1933 Charlotte moved to an apartment nearby on Beethovenstrasse, where she died a year later.[78] It was probably then that the porcelain was moved to Victor's villa on Tiergartenstrasse, where he looked after the collection for his two brothers, all having inherited equal shares. In 1933 the state secret police (Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt or Gestapa, later Gestapo) moved into the villa at 25 Wiener Strasse, where the three brothers had spent their childhood, and remained there until 1938.[79]

The seizure of the Klemperer Collection[80]

With the 'Decree on the Disclosure of the Assets of Jews' (Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden) issued on 26 April 1938 by Hermann Göring (1893–1946), the German Reich 'legitimized' the seizure of property and further repressive measures against the Jewish population: '§ 7 The Commissioner for the Four-Year-Plan may take measures that are necessary to ensure the usage of assets subject to disclosure in accordance with the requirements of the German economy.'[81] The Pogrom that took place on the night of 9/10 November 1938 was the end product of the policy pursued since 1933 and was a prelude to further discrimination against the Jews, systematic forced emigration and, ultimately, extermination.

After Ralph Leopold's family had in 1937 been the first to leave Germany, Victor and his wife Sophie followed him to South Africa in 1938. Herbert Otto did not succeed in moving to England until 1939. None of them will have been able to take much in the way of art objects to their new homes and what they did salvage was to a large extent sold in order to finance the necessities of daily life. Further developments in Germany confirmed the rightness of their decisions to emigrate and brought them the sad certainty that it would not be possible to return under the Nazi regime.

On 22 December 1938, Fritz Fichtner (1890–1969), since 1931 director of the Dresden Porcelain Collection and from 1933 of the arts and crafts museum (Kunstgewerbemuseum), received the official order for the seizure of the art treasures 'of the Jew that has left for South Africa'.[82] The removals had in fact taken place before the order was issued, on 1 and 5 December. It was planned that the von Klemperers' art collection should pass into the ownership of the museum, though according to Fichtner this still had to be negotiated with the Reich Ministry of Finance.

In January 1939, Fichtner, who since 1936 had been head of the museums department at the Saxon Ministry of the Interior, took part in a meeting of all the directors of the art collections at the Ministry of Education. He had expected a decision to be made on how the porcelain collection built up by Gustav von Klemperer was to be dealt with. In his record of the meeting he noted that Victor von Klemperer had to a large extent fulfilled his tax obligations, so it would hardly be possible for the art works to be confiscated. Nevertheless, he was determined to acquire the whole collection, not least

because it contained pieces that had previously belonged to the Porcelain Collection, from which many pieces had found their way into private collections through the extensive auctioning off of duplicates in the 1920s. By acquiring the Klemperer Collection, the Porcelain Collection would be able to make good certain gaps in its holdings, notably in the field of figures. This was a goal that only the Klemperer Collection would be capable of fulfilling, as the important collection of Hermine Feist in Berlin had already been sold at auction.[83] On 23 March 1939, following a meeting at the Ministry of the Economy and at the Reichskammer, Fichtner noted that the state of Saxony had applied to take over ownership of the collection of incunabula and porcelain. The body responsible for the sale of Jewish cultural property in Berlin would take care to see that the museums would be enabled to purchase the most important pieces cheaply.[84]



15 — View of the arched gallery of the Zwinger, wall arrangement with Chinese porcelain, c. 1938



16 — Display case at the Johanneum with bird figures from the Klemperer Collection, October 1939

Even by October there had still been no decision on the fate of the Klemperer Collection. In parallel, preparations were being made for the opening ceremony and celebrations for the Dresden Porcelain Collection's new exhibition rooms in the Zwinger, which were to take place from 19 to 26 September 1939. The transfer of the collection, which had been housed in cramped conditions at the Johanneum since 1876, had been planned since around 1936. In the period up to September 1938, almost the entire holdings of Chinese and Japanese porcelain had arrived, lot by lot, at the Zwinger and had been arranged in accordance with a new exhibition concept (fig. 15). The Meissen porcelain, however, remained for the time being at the Johanneum, as did the Klemperer Collection (fig. 16), concerning which no definite decision had yet been made. On 18 May 1939, Albert Speer (1905–1981) visited the Porcelain Collection, inspecting the building works and the progress made in setting up the new exhibition.[85] As early as August 1939, the first precautions against air raids were implemented, with wooden crates and packing material being ordered for the evacuation of art works and objects from the buildings of the Dresden art collections.[86] It was assumed that the centre of the city would be in the greatest danger. In order to have storage depots outside Dresden at the ready, space was rented from the owners of castles and large country houses in the surrounding area.

From 5 July to 1 September 1940 the Johanneum was the venue for the Dresden showing of the special exhibition 'Frau und Mutter. Lebensquell des Volkes' ('Wife and Mother: Life-Source for the Volk'), which was mounted by the Nazi party 'Office for Racial Policy' (Rassenpolitisches Amt) and had pre-





17 — Exhibition rooms at the Johanneum, first floor, during the packing up of the Porcelain Collection's Meissen holdings, 1939/40

18 — View of the Long Gallery of the Zwinger looking towards Crown Gate, 1940
The display cases contain the porcelain of the Klemperer Collection.

viously been seen in Berlin and Leipzig. In order for the exhibition to be shown in Dresden, the Johanneum had to be cleared out and the Meissen porcelain, both from the Dresden Porcelain Collection and from the Klemperer Collection, had to be transferred to another suitable place.[87]

The sleeve of a negative preserved in the Porcelain Collection's photographic archive bears an annotation by Fichtner referring to the move of June 1940 necessitated by the special exhibition: 'Johanneum. Umzug Juni 1940 anlässlich Reichssonderschau'.[88] This annotation and the black-and-white photograph held in the sleeve combine to indicate that the porcelain was removed from the Johanneum and the exhibition rooms cleared out (fig. 17). Subsequently, the Meissen holdings of the Porcelain Collection were taken for safe keeping to the storage depots in the surroundings of Dresden after June 1940, as is also confirmed by the 'Register of Art Works Stored outside Dresden'.[89] Until recently it was



19 — View of the Long Gallery of the Zwinger looking towards Crown Gate, with the exhibition of early Chinese ceramics, September 1939
Standing by the display cases are wooden crates in readiness for the evacuation of the objects.

not known where the Klemperer porcelain actually was in June 1940, whether it was still at the Johanneum or somewhere else. A further historical photograph, however, has provided proof that the Klemperer porcelain had left the Johanneum before the beginning of the year – a black-and-white view of the long gallery of the Zwinger looking in the direction of Crown Gate (Kronentor) (fig. 18), the sleeve of which bears the marking by Fichtner 'Arrangement of the Klemperer porcelain in the Long Gallery'. Previously on display here had been the exhibition section devoted to early Chinese ceramics, which had been redesigned around 1938. However, in September 1939 the objects had been packed up and transferred to various storage depots (fig. 19), leaving room for the Klemperer porcelain to be displayed there in the same month. There, as indicated in the records, it remained until around March 1943,[90] when it was removed, presumably directly, to the storage depot at Schloss Rammenau.

At the end of May 1940 it was planned that the Klemperer Collection should be sold, but the sale had been delayed because of an appeal on the part of the family. This being the case, the Dresden authorities hoped that they could take advantage of the delay to succeed in acquiring the collections for themselves.[91] Following the entry into force of the Eleventh Supplementary Decree on the Reich Citizenship Law of 25 November 1941, the art collection of the 'emigrant Jew Viktor Israel von Klemperer' was forfeited 'to the German Reich'.[92] In a letter of 17 October 1942 to the Oberfinanzpräsident of Dresden, Reichsstatthalter Martin Mutschmann (1879–1947) described the Klemperers' art works and objects seized in 1938 as follows: '1. An 836-piece collection of Meissen porcelain and 2 pieces of faience; 2. a collection of 56 artistic pieces of glass; 3. a collection of 13 manuscripts, 549 incunabula and 510 valuable book editions; 4. four paintings; 5. 12 pen-and-ink drawings, etchings and engravings; 6. 7 sculptures; 7. 33 carpets with artistic value; 8. 136 pieces of furniture with artistic value; 9. 55 arts and crafts items with artistic value.'[93] While Victor, Ralph Leopold and Herbert Otto von Klemperer were identified as the owners of item 1, items 2 to 9 were recorded as being the property of Victor von Klemperer and his wife Sophie. Mutschmann continued: 'The high artistic value of the seized items demands that they should without fail be definitively transferred into museum ownership. I therefore submit a petition that they should be assigned to the State of Saxony without charge, so that they can finally be incorporated into the State collections here.'[94] On 28 November 1942, Hans Posse (1879–1942), director of the Dresden State Picture Gallery,[95] wrote a letter – clearly an answer to an enquiry addressed to him – to Reichsleiter Martin Bormann (1900–1945) which – for the eventuality of the Klemperer family collections coming to the Dresden museums – goes into the possible emergence of duplicate porcelain pieces and incunabula in the collections. What gave rise to these considerations was Posse's intention to communicate Mutschmann's express wish that the collections should be assigned to the state of Saxony. Posse also enclosed letters in the same vein from the directors of the Porcelain Collection and the Saxon State Library, the latter being Hermann Neubert (1892–1980).[96] At the same time, however, Posse was also bearing in mind the interests of the Reich and thinking of making acquisitions for a certain museum elsewhere: 'The transfer would result in a number of duplicates of good figural pieces, which could well be used for the purposes of the Führer Museum in Linz.'[97] In a letter of 13 January 1943, Mutschmann communicated Adolf Hitler's decision of 4 January 1943: 'The Führer has decided that the collections are to be assigned to the State of Saxony at no charge.'[98] In April 1943 the issue of porcelain duplicates was raised again. Fichtner reported to Mutschmann that contrary to Posse's expectations there were no duplicates in the Klemperer Collection. However, he named five figures or figural groups that would make suitable donations and mentions that there were duplicates amongst the Klemperer tableware pieces, but that these had already been evacuated to the storage depots (in March 1943) and it would not be possible to lay hands on them until the war was over.[99] On the basis of the reference to the date of the Klemperer Collection's evacuation, it can be concluded that the period during which the Klemperer porcelain was exhibited in the Long Gallery at the Zwinger was from around September 1939 to March 1943.[100]

The evacuation

Even as early as 27 August 1939, before the outbreak of war, preparations had been made for measures aimed at protecting art works at the Dresden museums. The person responsible for these measures was Fritz Fichtner, who had since 1936 been the representative of the Staatliche Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft (State Collections for Art and Scholarship) at the Ministry of Education.[101] Shortly afterwards, the first precautions against air raids were implemented, with wooden crates and packing material being ordered for the evacuation of art works and objects from the buildings of the Dresden art collections. It is quite extraordinary that, at a time when there was a shortage of wood, fuel and transport vehicles, it was even possible to pack up the vast holdings, making the appropriate records, and transport the art treasures to safe keeping at storage locations outside Dresden. An additional complicating factor was that many of the male museum staff had been called up for military service.

Preserved in the archive of the Dresden Porcelain Collection is an original carbon copy of the 'Register of Art Works Stored outside Dresden'.[102] The register is divided up in accordance with the locations to which the holdings were evacuated. In most cases, the owners of the castles and large country houses made their buildings partially or entirely available to house the art works. While the 'Register of Art Works Stored outside Dresden' records individual measures that appear to have been taken in 1939, other measures date from between 1943 and 1945. Before 1945, the Porcelain Collection had no valid inventory. As a result, in the register, the Dresden location was used to identify porcelain pieces more clearly; for the Meissen porcelain housed at the Johanneum, the register referred to the display cases and cabinets as quoted in the 1928 guide to the collection.[103] Although the porcelain is only designated very briefly in the lists, the designation, in combination with the 1928 guide and its information concerning Johanneum display cases or cabinets, sometimes makes its possible to deduce somewhat more about individual pieces. A similar procedure was followed with the East Asian porcelain that had been at the Zwinger from 1936/37. There, for example, in the arched galleries that were marked out for the Porcelain Collection exhibition, Fritz Fichtner had created ornamental wall arrangements out of various groups of porcelain. These arched bays are mentioned in the evacuation lists. It was clearly assumed that the war would not last much longer and it would be relatively easy to recreate the exhibition from memory once peace came. At the same time, Fichtner took numerous photographs with his own camera, possibly intended to facilitate the reconstruction.

Tracing the evacuation of the confiscated Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection is quite a different matter, as every single piece could be identified by means of the catalogue of 1928. As a result,



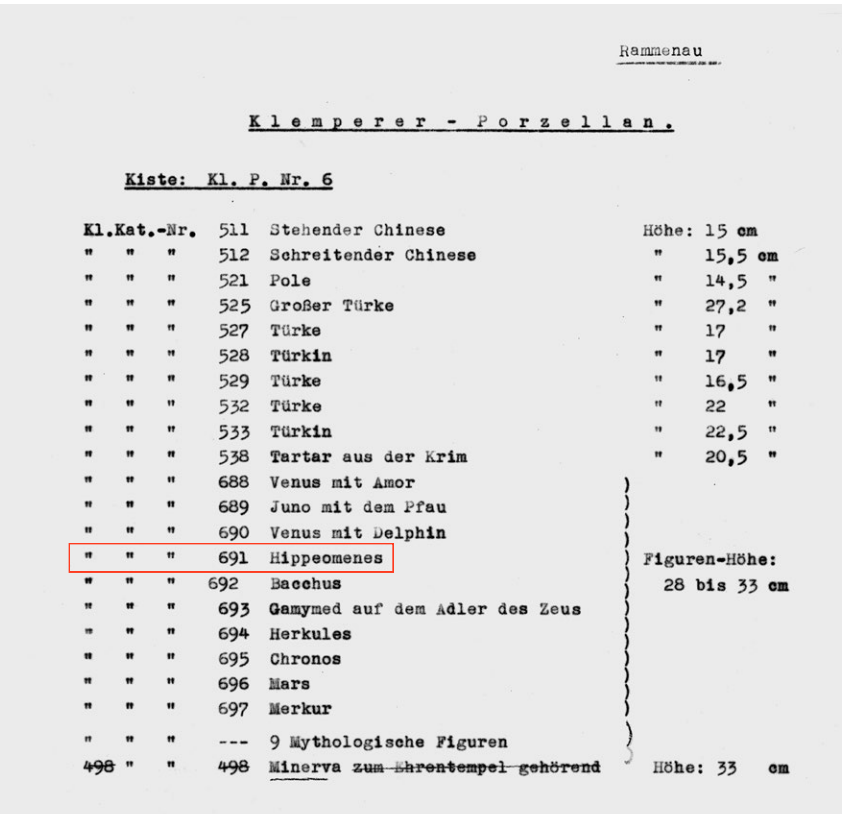


20 and 21 — Schloss Rammenau near Bautzen, no later than 9 Dezember 1943
20 Mirrored hall on the first floor | **21** Chinese room on the first floor

the evacuation was recorded in lists with each piece being given its correct designation and catalogue number. Only thanks to this meticulously executed work is it today possible to trace the route followed by almost each and every porcelain piece from the Klemperer Collection. To begin with, we know for certain that on 9 December 1943, the precious porcelain was stored in 25 clearly marked crates at Schloss Rammenau near Bautzen (figs. 20 and 21), as is made clear by the evacuation lists (see fig. 22).

Furthermore, the evacuation lists make it clear that the whole operation was implemented on the principle of 'dispersion of cultural property', with the aim of preventing the destruction of an entire holding. The principle was also followed with the von Klemperers' property. Victor's collection of incunabula was transferred from the Saxon State Library in Dresden to the storage depots at the small town of Gröditz between Riesa and Elsterwerda and to Schloss Taubenheim, both in the administrative district (Landkreis) of Meissen.[104] The evacuation lists preserved at the Porcelain Collection indicate that not only the precious porcelain and other items of cultural property were seized from Victor von Klemperer's villa but also the everyday household effects. By this time, the former household of Gustav and Charlotte von Klemperer was no longer in existence as such, parts of it having been passed on to their children or grandchildren. From Victor's household, the furniture was stored at Hermsdorf bei Radeberg, table linen and napkins at Kauppa near Bautzen, carpets and catalogues at Lauterbach, porcelain 'without artistic value' and furniture 'with artistic value' at Reichstädt, and glass and porcelain 'without artistic value' at Schloss Schleinitz. Five pieces of furniture 'with artistic value', not described in any greater detail, were stored at the Dresden Zwinger.

At the beginning of 1945, a further move was considered necessary on account of inadequate conditions at certain storage locations and the danger of the front approaching from the east.[105] On 8 February 1945, three or more crates of Klemperer porcelain left Schloss Rammenau for a destination further west, transported in a lorry that made an overnight stop in the great courtyard of the Dresden Residence.[106] In the air raids of the night from 13 to 14 February, the palace was destroyed (fig. 23) and with it the shipment of precious objects parked in its precincts, including crate no. 6 containing,


Rammenau

Klemperer - Porzellan.

Kiste: Kl. P. Nr. 6

Kl.Kat.-Nr.	511	Stehender Chinese	Höhe: 15 cm
" " "	512	Schreitender Chinese	" 15,5 cm
" " "	521	Pole	" 14,5 "
" " "	525	Großer Türke	" 27,2 "
" " "	527	Türke	" 17 "
" " "	528	Türkin	" 17 "
" " "	529	Türke	" 16,5 "
" " "	532	Türke	" 22 "
" " "	533	Türkin	" 22,5 "
" " "	538	Tartar aus der Krim	" 20,5 "
" " "	688	Venus mit Amor	)
" " "	689	Juno mit dem Pfau	)
" " "	690	Venus mit Delphin	)
" " "	691	Hippeomenes	) Figuren-Höhe:
" " "	692	Bacchus	) 28 bis 33 cm
" " "	693	Gamymed auf dem Adler des Zeus	)
" " "	694	Herkules	)
" " "	695	Chronos	)
" " "	696	Mars	)
" " "	697	Merkur	)
" " "	---	9 Mythologische Figuren	)
498 " "	498	Minerva ~~zum Ehrentempel gehörend~~	Höhe: 33 cm

22 — List of objects evacuated to Schloss Rammenau, c. 1943
Marked in red is the Hippomenes figure.



23 — The Dresden Residence in ruins, after 13/14 February 1945



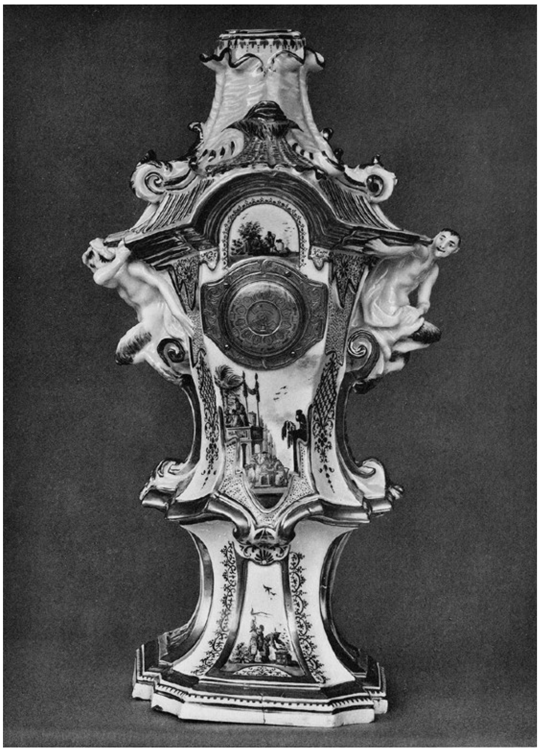


24 — Hippomenes in the running race Preparatory proof for the 1928 catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection

25 — Fragments preserved from the figure of Hippomenes, Meissen, 1741 – 1747
H. (figure) c. 11.6 cm,
H. (base) c. 5.5 cm

among other objects from the Klemperer Collection, the small figure of Hippomenes listed as no. 691 in the 1928 catalogue. While the figure was not illustrated in the catalogue, it is one of the pieces seen on the preparatory proofs (figs. 24 and 25)

As early as March 1945, Albert Gruve (1887 – 1973), Fichtner's former assistant and a senior civil servant at the Ministry of Education, drew attention to the porcelain shards in the courtyard of the Residence.[107] Almost eight years later, in a letter of 18 February 1953, Hans Nadler (1910 – 2005), head of the Institute for the Preservation of Historical Monuments (Institut für Denkmalpflege) noted 'that some of the porcelain shards are still [thought to be] lying in the tower room of the palace. If this is indeed the case, we request that the remaining shards are salvaged, as it would without doubt be possible for these to be reassembled to form whole vessels, as one can hardly imagine that any of the shards were removed from the cellar.'[108] In 1953, the shards to which he was referring were recovered from the rubble by Hilde Rakebrand and her assistant Ingelore Menzhausen (1923 – 2006). The shards bear clear marks of having been subjected to extreme heat, in the course of which particles of ash sank into the softened glaze.[109]



26 — Clock case, model by Johann Gottlieb Kirchner, Meissen, 1732 Illustration in the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection, 1928

The fragments identified as being parts of the figure of Hippomenes were restituted to the von Klemperer descendants in April 2010. The process of restitution generated close contacts between the Porcelain Collection and members of the von Klemperer family. In the summer of 2011, Lynne Howse, a great-granddaughter of Gustav von Klemperer, gifted the remains of the Hippomenes figure to the Porcelain Collection. The combination of the object's historical associations with the generosity of one of the collector's descendants who herself experienced the injustice done to Jews under National Socialism makes the Hippomenes figure into a special sign of reconciliation for the present day.

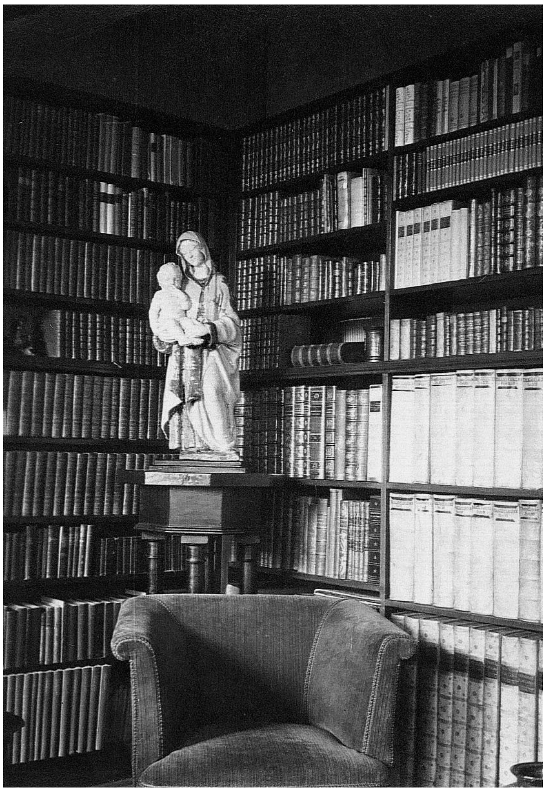
On 16 March 1945, eleven crates were moved from Schloss Rammenau to Rothschönberg.[110] In crate no. 17 was the precious porcelain clock case mentioned above as having been sold at the Hugo Helbing auction house in 1911 (fig. 26); dating from 1732, it was made to a model by Johann Gottlieb Kirchner (1706–1768). It is most likely that Gustav von Klemperer acquired it directly at the auction sale in Munich, or an offer was conveyed to him by the Dresden antiques dealer Hermann Ball.[111] It is still unclear how the clock case found its way from Rothschönberg to the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory, where it was identified as being property of the von Klemperer family in 1990/91 and restituted to the community of heirs. The von Klemperer descendants subsequently facilitated the purchase of the clock case by the Meissen manufactory, where it can now be admired in the display collection.[112]

Likewise in crate no. 17 was the lower part of an imposing covered tureen from around 1730 that was resplendently decorated with a Chinese-inspired 'Dog' (Lion) of Fo executed in purple lustre and gold (fig. 27).[113] Unlike the clock case, this vessel has sadly not been preserved.



27 — Lower part of a two-handled covered tureen, Meissen, c. 1730 Illustration in the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection, 1928

Two further crates with Klemperer porcelain were transported from Rammenau to Schloss Reichstädt on 4 April 1945.[114] Only a small number of pieces from these crates have been preserved. We know from the records that it was difficult for the museum staff to gain access to the Reichstädt storage depot. A report of 30 June 1945 by the authorized representative of the State Collections, Professor Wegner, indicates that the depot was inspected by museum staff from 25 to 29 June 1945. Amongst these staff was Arthur Leuschner (1883–1960), who had been involved in the evacuation operations in the years before 1945.[115] A general note was made



28 — Victor von Klemperer's library, 64 Tiergartenstrasse, most likely 1937

to the effect that all the crates stored there were damaged, but the Russian occupying forces prevented any closer examination of or repairs to the damaged crates.[116]

Only a few porcelain objects from the Klemperer Collection returned from Reichstädt, one being a plate from the 'Warsaw' service with a boldly coloured brocade décor and rich gold ornamentation, stored in crate no. 14; it was restituted to the von Klemperer family in 1991.[117] Amongst the other crates at Reichstädt was no. 22, which contained a medieval figure of Mary with the Christ child. Recorded as being 85 cm tall, it is very likely that it was the statue seen on the photograph of Victor von Klemperer's library (fig. 28). Its present location, if it still exists, is unknown.

Crates no. 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 23 and 25 were also taken to Schloss Rammenau for safe keeping in 1943. In what were entitled 'Evacuation lists, around 1943', however, there is no indication of where they were taken at the beginning of 1945. The route by which they finally returned to Dresden is thus unknown. In one of them, crate no. 8, was a figure of a potter from a series of craftsmen. The fragment of the quite rare figure of the potter was identified in the shards depository ('Scherbendepot') of the Porcelain Collection in 2008 (figs. 29 and 30). It was restituted to the von Klemperer descendants in 2010, along with almost 230 further items, for the most part either shards or (as in the case of the potter) fragments, only a few being intact porcelain objects.





29 and 30 — Potter, model by Johann Joachim Kaendler, assisted by Peter Reinicke, Meissen, c. 1750
29 Illustration in the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection, 1928
30 Fragment identified in the Dresden Porcelain Collection





31 and 32 — Harlequin dancing, model by Johann Joachim Kaendler, Meissen, before 1740 H. 18.6 cm
31 Illustration in the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection, 1928
32 Illustration in the Bonhams sale catalogue, London, 8 December 2010

On closer examination, the damaged figure of the potter still possesses an undeniable and special charm. One can still sense the mastery of Johann Joachim Kaendler, with the potter being shown in a dynamic pose at his work and the original enamel colours still perfectly recognizable.

Amongst the pieces packed in crate no. 13 was the figure of Harlequin dancing (figs. 31 and 32). The identification of this figure turned out to be somewhat more difficult, as the illustration and description in the Klemperer catalogue of 1928 differed in certain points from the figure held at the Porcelain Collection. As well as there being discrepancies in the posture of the fingers and the painting on the left arm of the jacket, the feet of the figure under examination are somewhat larger and more markedly bent, with the bows on the shoes also being differently placed. When the figure was examined under the microscope, it became clear that these differences were due to a very well executed restoration of the arm and feet after 1945. Furthermore, the damaged figure was obviously also missing its support, that is to say, the base and the tree trunk, which on this account had to be produced anew at the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory; it bears neither a manufactory mark nor the form number mentioned in the 1928 catalogue. Only a few of the parts of Harlequin that had to be identified are thus actually original. Given that in earlier restitutions, the fact of restoration had not limited claims to ownership, the figure of Harlequin dancing was amongst the items restituted to the Klemperer family heirs in 2010.

After 1945

In May 1945 the Soviet Union Trophy Commission began clearing the storage depots and carrying the art treasures off as war booty. On 28 November 1947, Erich Goslar, the general agent of the families of Victor and Ralph Leopold von Klemperer until 1943, contacted the government of Saxony, at the request of the military mission of South Africa in Berlin, in order to ascertain the whereabouts of the Klemperer Collection. In April 1948, the director of state museums in Saxony, Wolfgang Balzer (1884–1968), in a response to Albert Gruve of the State Museums, Palaces and Gardens (Staatliche Museen, Schlösser und Gärten), provided the information that no pieces with artistic value had returned from the storage depots and that a number of shards that could not be reassembled had been packed up

into two crates.[118] Enclosed was a list of 'everyday porcelain of more recent date but of no artistic value'.[119] In 1948, Herbert Otto von Klemperer also submitted an enquiry, writing from New York to the director of Schloss Moritzburg asking for information about the collections' whereabouts.[120]

In the immediate post-war years it must have been difficult to obtain reliable information about the movements and the destruction of the Klemperer Collection. Only Gruve, who had been involved in the evacuation operations before, knew where the storage locations for porcelain had been. In his report of 24 December 1947 to the government of Saxony, he names them as having been Rothschönberg, Schleinitz, Schieritz, Zottewitz, Reichstädt and Albrechtsburg castle at Meissen.[121] Conspicuous by its absence from his list is Schloss Rammenau, where the Klemperer Collection is known to have been in 1943. Gruve certainly knew that in February and March 1945 the storage depot of Schloss Rammenau had been cleared out and the 25 crates moved to storage depots further west out of fear of the approaching Russian front. Until well into the 1980s it was assumed that the greater part of the Klemperer Porcelain Collection had been in the courtyard of the Dresden Residence on the night of 13/14 February 1945 and had been to a very large extent destroyed.[122]

The decision regarding restitution lay initially in the hands of the government of Saxony and later of the state government of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Although the National Socialist expropriation laws had been repealed in the GDR, their consequences in law were unaffected: neither did Jewish former German citizens receive their property back, nor were they compensated for their losses. Given its particular national identity, the new state could not permit art treasures to be returned to citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany or any other 'foreign capitalist countries'. Decisions regarding items of Klemperer property were regularly obstructed through specious, prevaricatory arguments. In 1985 the Office for Legal Protection of GDR Property (Amt für Rechtsschutz des Vermögens der DDR) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepared a negative answer to the Klemperers' application and their draft was presented to a working group of the politburo of the central committee of the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the ruling party in the one-party state of the GDR), which approved it.[123] Consequently, there was no possibility of positive results coming out of the correspondence between the Klemperers and the Kulturgutschutzkommission (Commission for the Protection of Cultural Property), which was subordinate to the SED. In 1986, Gustav Victor von Klemperer, son of Victor, made the generous offer to the Dresden Porcelain Collection of making a gift of the porcelain pieces still extant from his grandfather's collection. By this means he would at least have gained knowledge of the extent of the survival of his family's heritage and would have had the certain satisfaction of having made a significant gift to his native city.[124] In such times, however, the attempt – for reasons given above – was doomed to fail.

The restitution of 1991

It was not until 1989 with the end of the GDR that negotiations with the von Klemperer family took a more positive turn. Represented by director general Werner Schmidt (1930–2010), the Dresden State Art Collections devoted great commitment to the matter in subsequent discussions.[125] The changed situation in German society opened the way to the restitution of the art works preserved in the art collections and the Saxon State Library to the heirs of Gustav von Klemperer. In summer 1990 an initial discussion took place between Werner Schmidt, the Dresden museum directors Günther Reinheckel (1933–2010; Applied Arts Museum), Klaus-Peter Arnold (Porcelain Collection), Bärbel Stephan, the chief conservator of the Collections of Sculpture, and Werner Schmeichler, the representative of the Commission for the Protection of Cultural Property (Kulturgutschutzkommission), in which Schmidt insisted that the art works be handed back directly by the Dresden museums.[126] The legal prerequisites were to be clarified by the foreign cultural goods department of the Office for Legal

Protection of GDR Property and the Commission on the Protection of Cultural Property. The latter reported to the Minister for Culture that this would be 'the first great instance of the restitution of Jewish property from a GDR museum', and would constitute 'a landmark decision of general political import that should not be handled within the scope of simply regional jurisdiction'.[127] According to the Commission, 'an official discussion in Berlin [would offer] the possibility on the part of the central state organs of the government to document the changed attitude concerning reparations to Jewish victims of National Socialism.'[128]

Nonetheless, the first discussion with Gustav Victor von Klemperer and his wife Vera (1918–1997) took place in Dresden. Present at this meeting held on 6 September 1990, in addition to Schmidt, Arnold and Manfred Mühlner,[129] were the representatives of the Minister of Culture and of the Minister for Science and Education of the GDR, who agreed upon unconditional restitution.[130] This is also corroborated by a letter written from Ketsch (Baden-Württemberg) by Gustav Victor von Klemperer, grandson of collection's founder, to the Burgomaster of Dresden on 2 October 1990. The German Unification Treaty of 3 October 1990 resolved the legal issues regarding restitution. The organizational arrangements lay in the hands of the director general of the Dresden State Art Collections, while the personal negotiations with the von Klemperer family were conducted by the director of the Porcelain Collection, Klaus-Peter Arnold.[131] On 25 January 1991 all the Collections were duly requested to compile lists of items identified as deriving from the collections of the von Klemperers. This included the Porcelain Collection, which based its research on the illustrations in the catalogue of the Klemperer Collection of 1928. The complete list of porcelain due to be restituted in 1991 comprised 85 items. Of these the family chose just 23 mostly undamaged pieces as objects for restitution, all of which were subsequently sold at auction at Christie's London on 30 September 1991.[132] Perhaps the most notable of these is the bust of the 'Mater dolorosa', listed in the 1928 catalogue as number 717, the original model for which Johann Joachim Kaendler (1706–1775), court sculptor and modeller at the Royal Meissen Porcelain Manufactory, mentions in his work report for December 1743.[133] Apart from this example, there is one other extant in private ownership, and a third in the Dresden Porcelain Collection.



33 — Equestrian statuette of Empress Elizabeth of Russia, model by Johann Joachim Kaendler, Meissen, c. 1750
H. 24 cm

In an act of supreme generosity the family gifted 63 valuable pieces to the Dresden Porcelain Collection.[134] After nearly fifty years, and with the consent of the heirs, this precious porcelain was now the rightful property of the Dresden Porcelain Collection. The donation comprised 36 porcelain figures, seven animal sculptures, seventeen pieces of tableware, a flacon, a clock case and a black-glazed stoneware teapot from the factory of Plaue an der Havel. The figural pieces in particular represented a valuable addition to the Dresden holdings. Ernst Zimmermann and Fritz Fichtner – the latter in 1940 – had lamented the dearth of such characteristic examples from the artistic side of production at the Meissen manufactory.[135] Now, for example, a notable gap in the holdings of the Dresden Porcelain Collection was filled by the equestrian statuette of Empress Elizabeth of Russia from the Klemperer Collection (fig. 33),[136] which Johann Joachim Kaendler modelled at the behest of Tsarina Elizabeth Petrovna (r. 1741 – 1761). The military costume with star of the Grand Cross of the Order of St Andrew was deliberately chosen for this depiction of the tsarina, daughter of Peter the Great, for it was the Preobrazhensky Lifeguard Regiment that supported Elizabeth in December 1741 in her putsch against Tsarina Anna Leopoldovna, allowing her to seize the imperial crown.[137] For his model of the group Kaendler drew inspiration from a painting by Georg Christoph Groot (1716 – 1749) that today hangs in the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow (fig. 34). Also part of the family's gift was the pair of pilgrims. In the eighteenth century, porcelain sculptures as décor for the dining table underscored the festive nature of the occasion and provided talking-points at table. Only a few details of the sumptuous dress worn by what are in effect courtly figures indicate the subject they are intended to represent: the walking staff and the scallop shells pinned to their clothing are the outward symbols of the pilgrim (fig. 35).[138] Also belonging to the gift are two miners.[139] The fact that a Miners' Parade was part of the Feast of Saturn in 1719 illustrates the high esteem in which mining – to which Saxony owed its wealth – was held. The invention of European porcelain would also not have been possible without the advanced state of development of mining sciences in Saxony. In 1721 the Nuremberg publisher and printer Christoph Weigel issued his *Abbildung und Beschreibung derer sämtlichen Berg-Wercks-Beamten und Bedienten nach ihrem gewöhnlichen Rang und Ordnung im gehörigen Berg-Habit*, a description of the various types of officials and workers who were active in the mines, together with their traditional costumes. The publication contained a number of engravings which served Kaendler and Reinicke as models for creating figures of miners at the Meissen manufactory. Kaendler's special achievement here was to lend each miner individual characteristics that went far beyond Weigel's depictions. Later, other manufactories drew inspiration from the Meissen figures in their turn.



34 — Pair of pilgrims, models by Johann Joachim Kaendler, Meissen, 1741
H. 28.5 and 27.5 cm



35 — Mining figures, (left to right) 'Rutengänger', 'Untersteiger' and 'Bergschreiber', models by Johann Joachim Kaendler, assisted by Peter Reinicke, Meissen, c. 1750
H. 20.5 cm

These are just a few of the outstanding early Meissen figures in the von Klemperer gift of 1991. Today they are all united in Dresden, the city in which they were first brought together in the early decades of the twentieth century. However, it should not be forgotten that the location of this generous gift was also the scene of the great injustice suffered by the family of Gustav von Klemperer, quite apart from the fate of their porcelain collection.

Further research and the restitution of 2010

Since 2006 the Dresden Porcelain Collection has been conducting fundamental research into the holdings in connection with the wide-ranging demands for restitution made by the family firm of the Wettins, the former ruling dynasty of Saxony. The entire collection of porcelain, including the shards depository, has been inventoried within the framework of the Daphne database project of the SKD. Special attention was paid to the undersides of the pieces, which alongside the manufactory marks display a plethora of symbols, numbers, paper stickers and signatures. While all these marks provided potential clues to the history of each piece, they first had to be deciphered.

The restitution of objects to the descendants of the von Klemperer family in 1991 had taken place on the basis of the illustrations in the 1928 catalogue of the collection, which had brought to light largely intact figures and tableware. The agreement that had been concluded did not, however, include a decision about the shards and fragments deriving from objects in the Klemperer Collection and still extant in the holdings of the Dresden Porcelain Collection.[140] The research undertaken at the Porcelain Collection from 2006 thus offered the opportunity to examine the shards depository from this perspective. The most important tool in this search was the catalogue of 1928 with its detailed descriptions and illustrations. However, new additional resource material was also discovered: for example, in the archive of the Porcelain Collection, which contains hitherto unexplored holdings of older negatives and photographic prints on paper. These included six negatives which proved to be a source of crucial importance. The original negative sleeves bear inscriptions in Fritz Fichtner's hand. All six photographs are dated October 1939 and show pieces from the 'Samml. Klemperer' (Klemperer Collection) that are not listed in the 1928 catalogue. Two negatives show parts of a Meissen porcelain service with a *qilin* décor from around 1740. Another negative shows nineteenth-century Meissen bird figures. Groups of five Ovidian figures are to be seen on each of two negatives, and a further negative shows three different small figures and a mounted ensemble. It is known from the historical context

that the forty-eight objects pictured in the negatives were held at the Johanneum. From other photographs showing the Johanneum it can be verified that the display cases in these newly discovered negatives were those then in use at that institution.

Another source, consisting of a group of 60 preparatory proofs for the Klemperer catalogue of 1928, revealed 157 objects. Amongst the objects seen in the proofs are pieces that are illustrated in the 1928 catalogue and others represented in the catalogue with a textual description but without a photograph. In this respect these photographs are an important aid to identifying an object with certainty and thus being able to definitively verify its ownership status. In addition, however, the proofs also contain illustrations of objects which are neither mentioned in the 1928 catalogue nor appear in illustrations, thus representing a completely new source of knowledge. Since all the proofs bear the handwritten annotation 'Samml. Klemperer', it was, for instance, possible to assign the third example given here to the ownership of the von Klemperer family.

Further documentary material also came to light, three sources in particular: the 'Appendix to the printed catalogue of the Klemperer Porcelain Collection. Porcelain not listed in the catalogue'; three pages devoted to the everyday china entitled 'Porcelain collection of the Jew Victor Israel von Klemperer (not listed in the catalogue), without special artistic value, domestic tableware'; and the so-called 'Leuschner list' of 2 April 1948.[141]





36 and 37 — Sample plate for Count Heinrich von Brühl, Meissen, c. 1737
36 Plate preserved in fragmentary form, restituted to the von Klemperer heirs in 2010
37 Illustration in the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection, 1928

However, the search for the fragments of the Klemperer porcelain nonetheless proved extremely difficult, as they were mixed up with the fragments of the Dresden Porcelain Collection. In order to identify as many of them as possible, the fragments had to be compared with the porcelain in the 1928 catalogue, the pieces in the Fichtner photographs, and those on the proofs. Just one instance in which this was successfully accomplished is that of one of the sample plates produced for Count Heinrich von Brühl (figs. 36 and 37). [142]

Among other items identified from the photographs taken by Fritz Fichtner in 1939 were two saucières, which were restituted in 2010. The saucière on the left in the Fichtner photograph can be seen on the right in the colour photograph, and the central saucière on the Fichtner photograph is that shown on the left in the colour photograph (figs. 38 and 39).





38 and 39 — Saucières with *qilin* décor, Meissen, c. 1740
38 Johanneum display case with Klemperer porcelain, October 1939
39 Illustration in the Bonhams sale catalogue, London, 8 December 2010

Using these resources, the Dresden Porcelain Collection ultimately restituted a total of 227 porcelain items in April 2010. A selection of these objects was put up for auction at Bonhams in London in December 2010.[143] The provenance and quality of the porcelain were assuredly factors in the great success of the sale. A large number of the fragments, shards and largely intact porcelain objects remained with the widely ramified family.

The research project

The greater part, amounting to around two thirds of the original collection of Gustav von Klemperer, is regarded as lost or missing. Following two restitutions to the family, a desire arose on the part of the Dresden Porcelain Collection to collate and publish the identifiable lost pieces from Gustav von Klemperer's collection. Only by publishing these losses and tracing the routes by which they were lost will it be possible to identify porcelain from this important collection on the art market, in museums or private collections, and to enable it to be restored to its rightful ownership.

Given that the Dresden Porcelain Collection profited from the 1938 confiscation of the Klemperer Collection, this form of reconstruction seemed to be a fitting way in which to set something against the injustice suffered. However, it would not be appropriate to speak of reparation – at best of a gesture that recognizes this injustice and solicits forgiveness. With this intention in mind, the Dresden Porcelain Collection made an application to the German Lost Art Foundation, whose generous sponsorship was supplemented by support from the descendants of the von Klemperer family themselves. With the participation of the recognized provenance researcher Kathrin Iselt, the project took up its work at the beginning of November 2019 and is scheduled to be completed by August 2021.

While building on the knowledge and experiences of the previous restitutions, the research project is intended to go further in order to achieve its desired outcomes. Its first task was to compile a list of all the porcelain in Gustav von Klemperer's collection, that is to say, to reconstruct the collection in its entirety.

Once again it was the 1928 catalogue of Gustav von Klemperer's porcelain collection with its 834 listed items that formed the focal point of the research. The preparatory proofs made for the catalogue were again used as a second source. On the basis of these proofs alone it has been possible to identify a further 44 objects which can also be assigned to the Klemperer Collection, over and above those listed in the 1928 catalogue. Thirdly, on the basis of the six important photographs taken by Fritz Fichtner alone it has been possible to add another 37 objects to the reconstruction of the Klemperer Collection. Furthermore, eleven porcelain pieces appear both in Fichtner's photographs and on the proofs and are thus doubly documented. These eleven objects have also been included in the inventory. The reconstructed collection thus numbers 926 items.

The next step was to establish the actual losses from the reconstructed Klemperer Collection and to enter the details of these objects into the Lost Art Database. All individual pieces from earlier restitutions and gifts had to be documented precisely and small errors that had crept in over previous years eliminated. Likewise, account had to be taken of restitutions from third parties, as far as these were known; institutions involved included the Bavarian National Museum, Munich, the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory and the Cummer Museum of Art and Gardens in Jacksonville, Florida.

A further challenge was to filter out all the items that comprised several pieces and of which only parts are in fact lost. One of these is the chocolate beaker with saucer listed as number 19 in the 1928 catalogue (fig. 40), which was evacuated in transport chest number 23 to Schloss Rammenau in 1943. Hitherto it had not been possible to establish either the point in time or the route by which the beaker and saucer were then taken from Rammenau to Schloss Schleinitz and ultimately to the Dresden borough of Leuben. At Schloss Schleinitz the von Friesen family employed a cook who had been given various pieces of porcelain by a Soviet soldier stationed at Schleinitz after 8 May 1945. It was after



40 — Chocolate beaker and saucer, decoration: tooled gold painting, Meissen, c. 1720/25
Illustration in the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection, 1928

her death that these pieces made their way into a private household in Leuben. In 1958 they were taken by Dresden Porcelain Collection staff and added to the museum holdings.[144] In 1991 the beaker was identified as the property of the von Klemperer family and restituted. As the whereabouts of the saucer is unknown, it was duly entered in the Lost Art Database in 2020.



41 — Covered tureen, Meissen, c. 1735
Illustration in the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection, 1928

A second example (fig. 41) can stand for many individual cases that required special attention when the losses were being collated. By referring to the evacuation lists (c. 1943) it can be worked out that the stand belonging to this tureen was packed in crate no. 14 and the tureen with its cover in crate no. 18, both of which were transported to Rammenau in 1943. When they were moved on 16 March 1945, crate no. 18 with the covered tureen ended up at Schloss Rothschönberg, and crate no. 14 with its stand arrived at Schloss Reichstädt on 4 April 1945. The two parts were thus deposited separately in different locations. Neither the tureen nor its stand returned to Dresden. They are among the losses sustained by the Klemperer collection and are likewise documented accordingly in the Lost Art Database.

Gradually, a list of losses comprising 614 items, each furnished with a precise description, emerged from the original 926-item list of the collection as a whole; this list of losses has been accessible online since the end of 2020.[145] The comparison of these totals – 926 and 614 – makes it clear that in terms of items almost two thirds of the Klemperer Collection has been lost. The provenances and history of how the individual objects were lost were researched on the basis of extant sources, enabling the route taken by particular objects to be traced and the various places at which they were lost to be established.

The online publication of research findings

The research project will conclude with the digital publication of its findings. All the findings will be collated on a dedicated webpage of the Dresden State Art Collections and illustrated with a variety of pictorial material.[146]

This essay and three others form a complex account of the fate suffered by the family of Gustav von Klemperer. Kathrin Iselt examines the three villas where the von Klemperer family lived, relating the history of their construction and use. Only the villa of Ralph Leopold's family survived the Second World War largely undamaged. Little remains in Dresden today to recall the once so influential and respected von Klemperer family.[147] In his essay Andreas Graul devotes himself to the two Dresden bankers Gustav and Victor von Klemperer. Both men were instrumental in the development of the Dresdner Bank in Saxony and the central German economic region. In 1934 the National Socialists forced Victor out of the bank. Four years later he and his family left Germany, almost penniless but in time to escape the Holocaust.[148] In her essay Sabine Rudolph describes how the National Socialist authorities succeeded in seizing and expropriating Gustav von Klemperer's porcelain collection while preserving the outward veneer of legality. The actual expropriation was not achieved until the beginning of 1943, some time after the 'legal basis' for the ultimate and wholesale plundering of exiled or deported Jews was created with the issuing in November 1941 of the Eleventh Supplementary Decree to the Reich Citizenship Law.[149]

It is particularly gratifying that the website is to feature a section entitled 'Memories' in which the present-day von Klemperer family have the opportunity to tell the story from their perspective. It was a matter of importance not only to examine the history of the family's persecution but also to show their lives before 1933 – thus making the loss of so many things, both material and immaterial, more immediate for visitors to the website. Victor Francis von Klemperer, today the 'head of the family', agreed to note down his thoughts and memories relating to his grandfather Victor, despite not having known him personally. In this large and widely ramified family there are many memories that have been passed down from one generation to the next. Even today, these are still worth recording.

Likewise in the 'Memories' section is a link to the Leo Baeck Institute website where Victor von Klemperer's memoirs can be read online (in German). They were largely written in South Africa in 1938 and completed between 1939 and 1942 in Southern Rhodesia.[150] Starting from the eighteenth century, he gives an account of the family history, including his parents Gustav and Charlotte, and describes the lives of his brothers, his children and grandchildren up to the time before his death in 1943.

Michaela Howse is the great-great-granddaughter of Gustav von Klemperer. In her essay she weaves the threads that link her home country of South Africa with Dresden as the home of her great-great-grandparents Gustav and Charlotte von Klemperer. The essay focuses on the remains of a once world-famous collection and on her grandmother Ida Charlotte (1919–2015), granddaughter of Gustav von Klemperer, who as a young woman of eighteen went into forced exile in South Africa with her parents Ralph Leopold and Lili. Up to her grandmother's death in 2015, Howse was able to question her extensively over the course of frequent conversations. Entitled 'The Art of Golden Repair', Michaela Howse's essay was written for the research project. The final sentence of the essay also provides a fitting close here:

> 'In the context of post-conflict incompleteness, I think if inherited porcelain fragments could talk, their advice might be to find that metaphorical gold of love and courage to build now, with a stronger material.'[151]

Notes

1 Hermann Wiener (1797 – 1874) was a businessman, banker and owner of a calico factory in Prague.

2 'Sensal', still occasionally used in Austria, is an old-fashioned word for 'trading agent', here used to designate the official stock exchange broker.

3 Julius Hirsch is documented in the Dresden address books as owner of a banking and currency exchange firm, see *Adreß- und Geschäftshandbuch der königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Dresden*, 11 (1865), 13 (1867), 16 (1870), 18 (1872), accessible online at https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/76439/135/0/ (last retrieved 7. 5. 2021).

4 The general commercial power of representation being known as 'Prokura'.

5 See Leo Baeck Institute Archives, Memoir Collection (ME 559), on this point pp. 5 – 7. The memoirs of Victor von Klemperer are accessible online at https://links.cjh.org/primo/lbi/CJH_ALEPH000201034 (last retrieved 7. 5. 2021).

6 On banking see the article by Andreas Graul: 'The Bankers Gustav and Victor von Klemperer', accessible online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007288. See also Simone Lässig, 'Jüdische Privatbanken in Dresden', *Dresdner Hefte*, 18/61 (2000), pp. 85 – 97.

7 Gustav von Klemperer gave his support to the foundation of numerous companies, among others: AG Lauchhammer, Riesa; AG Sächsische Werke (brown coal extraction and energy production, carbon chemical industry), Dresden; Allgemeine Transportanlagen Gesellschaft, Leipzig (conveyor mechanisms and, from 1933, airborne armaments). He likewise represented the bank's interests on the supervisory boards of numerous Saxon and Bohemian industrial companies and commercial enterprises, see the article by Andreas Graul: 'The Bankers Gustav and Victor von Klemperer', accessible online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007288; and idem, *Gustav und Victor von Klemperer. Eine biographische Skizze* (Dresden, 2004).

8 On the family's villas see the article by Kathrin Iselt: 'The Dresden Villas of the von Klemperer Family', accessible online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007290.

9 See Holger Starke (ed.), *Geschichte der Stadt Dresden*, vol. 3: *Von der Reichsgründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 351 – 354; Hartmut Liehr et al. (eds.): *Förderer und Stifter in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Zur Geschichte der Gesellschaft von Freunden und Förderern der Technischen Universität Dresden e. V.* (Dresden, 1998).

10 In 1991 the Gesellschaft von Förderern und Freunden der Technischen Hochschule was founded anew with the name slightly changed: Gesellschaft von Freunden und Förderern der TU Dresden e. V. My thanks go to Angela Buchwald, Jutta Wiese and Matthias Lienert of the archive of Dresden Technical University for their kind assistance. On the 100-year-long history of the Society of Friends, see Matthias Lienert, 'Seit 100 Jahren dem Wohl der Dresdner Alma Mater verpflichtet', *Dresdner Universitätsjournal*, 32/6 (2021), accessible online at https://tu-dresden.de/tu-dresden/newsportal/ressourcen/dateien/universitaetsjournal/uj_pdfs/uj_2021/UJ06-21.pdf (last retrieved 27. 4. 2021). For her research, my warmest thanks go to Kathrin Iselt, research assistant on the project 'Reconstruction of the Porcelain Collection of the Dresden Banker Gustav von Klemperer', Dresden State Art Collections. See also Holger Starke (ed.), *Geschichte der Stadt Dresden*, vol. 3: *Von der Reichsgründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 351 – 355.

11 See Archiv der Technischen Hochschule Dresden, old holdings, Gesellschaft von Förderern und Freunden der Technischen Hochschule Dresden e. V., nos. 756 and 768. No. 768 contains the annual reports for the society's first and second financial years (1922 and 1923).

12 See Holger Starke (ed.), *Geschichte der Stadt Dresden*, vol. 3: *Von der Reichsgründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 2006), p. 355. Among those who endorsed the appeal was Fritz Fichtner, at this time already director of the Dresden Porcelain Collection.

13 For a fundamental account of this subjet, see Simone Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum. Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg* (Göttingen, 2004).

14 See Morten Reitmayer, *Bankiers im Kaiserreich. Sozialprofil und Habitus der deutschen Hochfinanz* (Göttingen, 1999), pp. 219 – 220, n. 74, also accessible online at https://digi20.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00040358_00001.html (last retrieved 5. 5. 2021); the publication appeared again online in 2000 at https://www.vr-elibrary.de/doi/book/10.13109/9783666357992 (last retrieved 5. 5. 2021).

15 The Škoda Works were founded as a machine construction enterprise in 1859. Around the turn of the century, the company turned its attention increasingly to armaments technology; in the years 1914 – 1918, for example, it supplied the Austro-Hungarian army with 12,693 pieces of artillery. See the entry 'Klemperer, Ralph Leopold von' in Werner Röder et al. (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 – 1945* (New York, 1999), p. 370, accessible online at https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110968545 (last retrieved 12. 5. 2021).

16 As early as 1870, Oskar Huldschinsky moved from Breslau (Wrocław) to Berlin, where he built up a large art collection, parts of which were sold at auction in 1928. An impression of the art works he owned can be gained from the sale catalogue Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer, 'Die Sammlung Oscar Huldschinsky', 10 – 11. 5. 1928, Berlin, accessible online at https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cassirer_helbing1928_05_10a/0001 (last retrieved 9. 3. 2021).

17 See the entry 'Klemperer, Ralph Leopold von' in Werner Röder et al. (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 – 1945* (New York, 1999), p. 370, accessible online at https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110968545 (last retrieved 12. 5. 2021). On the family's villas see the article by Kathrin Iselt: 'The Dresden Villas of the von Klemperer Family', accessible online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007290.

18 See Hans Bucheit, *Miniaturen aus der Sammlung Gustav von Klemperer* (Dresden, 1928). For the information that the collection was inherited by Ralph Leopold I am grateful to his grandson Brian Spark.

19 Two examples of similar pieces from the nineteenth century were put up for auction, see sale catalogue Sotheby's London, 'Fine Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art', 5. 11. 2014, lot 136, accessible online at http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/fine-chinese-ceramics-works-art-l14211/lot.136.html (last retrieved 9. 5. 2021). For this information my thanks go to Cora Würmell, Senior Curator for East Asian Porcelain, Dresden Porcelain Collection.

20 See Heinz Schmidt-Bachem, *Beiträge zur Industriegeschichte der Papier-, Pappe- und Folien-Verarbeitung in Deutschland. Quellen, Recherchen, Dokumente, Materialien* (Düren, 2009), p. 258; Holger Starke (ed.), *Geschichte der Stadt Dresden*, vol. 3: *Von der Reichsgründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 59 – 64.

21 *Sechste Jahresschau Deutscher Arbeit Dresden 1927. Das Papier, Amtlicher Führer* (Dresden, 1927), p. 81. During the exhibition, from 7 to 11 June 1927, there was a meeting of the Central Union of German Cardboard Packaging Producers (Zentralverband Deutscher Kartonage-Fabrikanten), and on 17 June 1927 a meeting of the Union of German Paper Wholesalers (Deutscher Papiergroßhändler-Verband). Furthermore, Victor von Klemperer was a member of the supervisory board of the AG für Cartonnagen-Industrie Dresden.

22 See 'Klemperer, Hubert Ralph von' in Werner Röder et al. (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 – 1945* (New York, 1999), p. 370, accessible online at https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110968545 (last retrieved 12. 5. 2021).

23 See the obituary for Hubert Ralph von Klemperer by Tony Hesp, *Natalia*, 29 (1999), pp. 102 – 105, accessible online at http://natalia.org.za/Files/29/Natalia%20v29%20obituaries%20van%20Klemperer.pdf (last retrieved 9. 3. 2021); see also the entry 'Klemperer, Ralph Leopold von' in Werner Röder et al. (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 – 1945* (New York, 1999), p. 370, accessible online at https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110968545 (last retrieved 12. 5. 2021). Ralph Leopold and his family were fortunate enough to close down their household before departing, most likely taking some of their possessions with them to South Africa.

24 Klemens von Klemperer, *Der einsame Zeuge. Von der existenziellen Dimension des Widerstandes gegen den Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Ekkehard Klausa (Berlin, 2016), p. 378.

25 On the art collection and on Wilhelm Kuffner's villa see Katja Fischer, *Jüdische Kunstsammlungen in Wien vor 1938 am Beispiel der Familie Kuffner,* degree dissertation, Vienna University (2008), accessible online at https://doi.org/10.25365/thesis.1260 (last retrieved 30. 4. 2021).

26 See Friedrich Hitzig, *Wohngebäude der Victoris Strasse in Berlin* (Berlin, 1864), plate 26 [XXI], 'Situationsplan' with the house number 1, online at https://www.digishelf.de/piresolver?id=PPN71854031X (last retrieved 18. 5. 2021). Nothing of the historical building survived the Second World War.

27 See Conrad Matschoss, *Vom Werden der Wanderer-Werke* (Berlin, 1935), p. 102 and p. 103 with a portrait of Herbert Otto von Klemperer. Victor's father Gustav was deputy chairman of the supervisory board from 1896 to 1921 and chairman from 1921 to 1926. Siegmar-Schönau is an industrial town in the vicinity of Chemnitz.

28 See Ekkehard Klausa, 'Herbert von Klemperer – ein vertriebener Berliner Wirtschaftskapitän', in Klemens von Klemperer, *Der einsame Zeuge. Von der existenziellen Dimension des Widerstandes gegen den Nationalsozialismus,* ed. Ekkehard Klausa (Berlin, 2016), pp. 375 – 380.

29 Ernst Zimmermann, b. 3 November 1866 in Hamburg, was a trainee for two years at the Museum of Arts and Crafts (Kunstgewerbemuseum) in Cologne before working in Wiesbaden in 1897 and 1898 on an inventory of the historic monuments of Hessen-Nassau. In the latter year he started work as an assistant at the Dresden Porcelain Collection, where in 1901 he was made responsible for rearranging the holdings in the Johanneum. After being appointed assistant to the Director in 1908, in 1912 he was himself appointed Director of the Dresden Porcelain Collection, a post he held until his retirement in 1933. He died on 6 January 1940 in Dresden; see Karin Müller-Kelwing, *Zwischen Kunst, Wissenschaft und Politik. Die Staatlichen Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft in Dresden und ihre Mitarbeiter im Nationalsozialismus*, publication of the SKD, ed. Gilbert Lupfer (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar, 2020), pp. 471 – 473.

30 SKD, Porzellansammlung, inv. no. PO 17.

31 A Meissen tobacco box cover with a portrait of the Polish king and Saxon elector August III/Friedrich August II (accession no. 40.27) and a Meissen cup and saucer from around 1725 (accession no. 5.27), both of which were lost to the Porcelain Collection in the war.

32 *Email sur biscuit* is a decorative technique practised on Chinese porcelain in which enamel colours are applied to and fired directly on the unglazed, biscuit-fired body.

33 See Archiv der SKD (Archive of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden/Dresden State Art Collections), 01/PS 032: Genehmigungen, Briefwechsel, Schenkungen, Verzeichnislisten, 1920, correspondence between Herbert Otto von Klemperer and Ernst Zimmermann concerning the exchange, 13. 1. 1920 to 13. 2. 1920, pp. 2 – 5, and letter of 14. 2. 1920 from Herbert von Klemperer to Ernst Zimmermann, p. 26.

34 For further information see Herbert Butz, 'Die Geschichte: Alles beginnt mit Wilhelm Bode', on the website of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst, online at https://www.dgok.de/mitgliedschaft/die-geschichte/ (last retrieved 22. 4. 2021).

35 Leopold Reidemeister was a research assistant at the Berlin State Museums (Staatliche Museen Berlin) from 1924 and curator of the East Asian department from 1932.

36 See Herbert Butz, 'Die Geschichte: Alles beginnt mit Wilhelm Bode', on the website of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst, online at https://www.dgok.de/mitgliedschaft/die-geschichte/ (last retrieved 8. 3. 2021); Leopold Reidemeister, 'Erinnerungen an das Berlin der zwanziger Jahre', in Tilmann Buddensieg, Kurt Düwell, and Klaus-Jürgen Sembach (eds.), *Wissenschaften in Berlin* (Berlin, 1987), vol. 3, pp. 187 – 194, here p. 189. In the last year of his life, Reidemeister wrote these memoirs about the Berlin art scene in the 1920s, emphasizing the network of contacts between collectors, dealers and museum curators.

37 Otto Kümmel, 'Vorwort', in exh. cat. *Ausstellung chinesischer Kunst, veranstaltet von der Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst und der Preußischen Akademie der Künste Berlin vom 12. Januar bis 2. April 1929* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 7 – 10. Somewhat later, in addition to the catalogue, there appeared a handsome volume with 200 highlights from the show: idem, *Chinesische Kunst. 200 Hauptwerke der Ausstellung der Gesellschaft für ostasiatische Kunst in der Preußischen Akademie der Künste Berlin'* (Berlin, 1929). Otto Kümmel (1874 – 1952) was founder and director of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin, and director general of the Berlin State Museums.

38 SKD, Porzellansammlung, inv. no. PO 20: China, Song dynasty (960 – 1279), 1100 – 1125, acquisition made in 1927 with the Rücker-Embden Collection, Meran; see https://www.skd.museum/presse/2021/eine-echte-sensation-seltene-ru-keramik-aus-china-in-der-porzellansammlung-der-staatlichen-kunstsammlungen-dresden-skd-entdeckt/ (last retrieved 31. 5. 2021).

39 See exh. cat. 'Ausstellung chinesischer Kunst, veranstaltet von der Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst und der Preußischen Akademie der Künste Berlin vom 12. Januar bis 2. April 1929', ed. Otto Kümmel (Berlin, 1929), pp. 33 – 458 (catalogue of the objects exhibited). See sale catalogue Christie's London, 'The important collection of Chinese porcelain objects of art and carpets, the property of a gentleman (Formerly resident abroad)', 26 – 27. 4. 1939. This catalogue of the sale of the collection of Herbert Otto von Klemperer confirms that the collection's focus was on *émail sur biscuit* with no fewer than 162 such items, with it also being possible for one 'lot' to be made up of several objects. For information related to this matter I am grateful to Monika Tatzkow of the Wissenschaftlicher Dokumentationsdienst/Offene Vermögensfragen, Berlin, who is also active on behalf of the legal representation of the descendants of Herbert Otto von Klemperer.

40 On the little snuff bottles, see ibid. pp. 45 – 50, for example, lots no. 180, 181 (two bottles), 182, 196, 204, 218 (two bottles). On the state of health of Frieda von Klemperer, who died in 1945, see Leo Baeck Institute Archives, Memoir Collection (ME 559), p. 63; Ekkehard Klausa, 'Klemens von Klemperer. Ein Lebensbild', in Klemens von Klemperer, *Der einsame Zeuge. Von der existenziellen Dimension des Widerstandes gegen den Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Ekkehard Klausa (Berlin, 2016), pp. 9 – 32, here p. 15.

41 Between 1938 and 1940, on the plot formerly occupied by 1 Drakestrasse, the architect Johann Emil Schaudt (1874 – 1957) built the Danish legation in the quarter containing numerous diplomatic representations at the southern end of the Tiergarten park. Today the building contains a hotel; see Matthias Donath, *Architektur in Berlin 1933 – 1945. Ein Stadtführer* (Berlin, 2004), p. 99 and 104 – 105.

42 In the Lost Art Database it is stated that the 'auction sales of his property took place between 1937 and 1940 at Lange und Achenbach, Berlin', see http://www.lostart.de/Content/051_ProvenienzRaubkunst/DE/Sammler/K/Klemperer,%20Herbert-Otto%20v..html (last retrieved 18. 3. 2021). No more detailed information is known.

43 See Ekkehard Klausa, 'Herbert von Klemperer – ein vertriebener Berliner Wirtschaftskapitän', in Klemens von Klemperer, *Der einsame Zeuge. Von der existenziellen Dimension des Widerstandes gegen den Nationalsozialismus,* ed. Ekkehard Klausa (Berlin, 2016), p. 376.

44 On Isidor Loewe, see Hans Christoph Seherr-Thoß, 'Loewe, Isidor', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 15 (1987), pp. 78–81, online at https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd142353817.html#ndbcontent (last retrieved 18. 3. 2021).

45 Victor von Klemperer was active on the following supervisory boards, among others: Sächsische Gussstahl-Werke Döhlen AG, Dresden-Freital; Gehe & Co. AG (production of paints and pharmaceutical and chemical products which later became world-famous); AG für Cartonnagen-Industrie Dresden; the 'AG vorm. Seidel & Naumann', Dresden (one of Germany's biggest manufacturers of sewing machines and typewriters). Furthermore, he was on the supervisory board of the 'Baugesellschaft für die Residenzstadt Dresden AG', his departure from which on 20. 6. 1938 was announced in the *Zweite Beilage zum Deutschen Reichsanzeiger und Preußischen Staatsanzeiger*, no. 143, of 23. 6. 1938. The outstanding payments for work in the last business year were paid into his 'emigrant's frozen account' ('Auswanderersperrkonto', to which he had no access), by which time Victor was already living in Southern Rhodesia.

46 Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (SächsStA-D), 13128 Baugesellschaft für die Residenzstadt Dresden, no. 21, inter alia correspondence between the board of directors and the members of the supervisory board, 1937–1939 (old shelf mark no. 5374). The joint stock company was founded on 30. 4. 1885 as a building bank. After being renamed at some unknown point in time, the company operated until August 1935 as the 'Baubank für die Residenzstadt Dresden' and from 1935 as 'Baugesellschaft für die Residenzstadt Dresden AG'. It was responsible for the administration and utilization of plots of land in its ownership in Dresden, the acquisition of further plots of land in Dresden, and the utilization or selling of such properties, and the construction of buildings, streets and squares. In 1950 it was renamed 'Baugesellschaft für die Stadt Dresden'. A year later the board of directors filed a bankruptcy petition, which was however rejected on account of a shortage of assets. Most of the shares were held by old banks whose rights had been taken over by the Deutsche Investitionsbank in accordance with the 'takeover regulation' (Übernahmeverordnung) of 25. 1. 1951. The company is recorded as having existed until at least 1953, see https://www.archiv.sachsen.de/archiv/bestand.jsp?oid=09.21&bestandid=13128&_ptabs=%7B%22%23tab-geschichte%22%3A1%7D#geschichte (last retrieved 27. 5. 2021).

47 Although a number of annual reports recorded that he would be resigning from the executive committee (Vorstand) or administrative council (Verwaltungsrat) as of the following financial year, this is regularly contradicted in the subsequent annual reports, which indicate that from the second financial year (1923) Victor continued his activity on the committee or administrative council without interruption. In the eighth annual report (financial year 1929), Victor is recorded as being deputy treasurer, and from the ninth annual report (financial year 1930 and first half of 1931) as treasurer. In the tenth annual report (second half of 1931 and first half of 1932), too, Victor is still recorded as being treasurer and member of the executive committee and administrative council. In the eleventh annual report (second half of 1932, first half of 1933), Victor is recorded as being deputy chairman of the society and member of the administrative council, the office of treasurer having been taken over by Adolf Arnhold. From the twelfth annual report (second half of 1933, first half of 1934) onwards, there is no further mention of Victor von Klemperer, who had worked with such great commitment on the society's executive committee and administrative council since 1923; see Archiv der Technischen Hochschule Dresden, old holdings, Gesellschaft von Förderern und Freunden der Technischen Hochschule Dresden e. V., no. 770 and no. 757, vol. 2.

48 The ninth annual report (1930 and first half of 1931, see n. 47) records Victor being made an honorary senator.

49 SächsStA-D, 11125 Ministerium des Kultus und öffentlichen Unterrichts, no. 15544, fol. 91, letter of 5. 3. 1939 from the Geheime Staatspolizei / Staatspolizeileitstelle Dresden to the Ministerium für Volksbildung (Ministry of Education of Saxony).

50 See ibid., fol. 92, letter of 27. 3. 1939 from the Ministerium für Volksbildung to the Rector of the Technische Hochschule Dresden. According to the custodial office (Kustodie) of the Technische Universität Dresden, the honorary senators' chains of this time were very probably not personalized. Even if Victor von Klemperer's chain of honour were to have been preserved, it would thus hardly be possible to identify it as such. My sincere thanks go to Kirsten Vincenz of the custodial office of the Technische Universität Dresden for her kind assistance in this matter.

51 In the letter, reference is made to the 'Verordnung vom 2. 7. 1938 – W A 987, Z II a'; see SächsStA-D, 11125 Ministerium des Kultus und öffentlichen Unterrichts, no. 15544, fol. 91, letter of 5. 3. 1939 from the Geheime Staatspolizei/Staatspolizeileitstelle Dresden to the Ministerium für Volksbildung, and fol. 83r/v, letter of 8. 11. 1939 from the Rector of the Technische Hochschule Dresden to the Ministerium für Volksbildung. As yet, the honorary senators who were deprived of their title on political or 'racial' grounds during the Nazi period have not been rehabilitated by the Technische Universität Dresden as successor institution to the Technische Hochschule. A formal rehabili-

tation has been proposed by the members of the Dresden Porcelain Collection research project 'Reconstruction of the Porcelain Collection of the Dresden Banker Gustav von Klemperer' (information valid as of September 2020). On the deletion of the names of dignitaries from the university lists, see, inter alia, the report of the university senate working group on 'Verleihung und Entzug von Titeln während der NS-Zeit' (2013/14) of the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz University, Hanover, von, accessible online at https://www.uni-hannover.de/fileadmin/luh/content/webredaktion/universitaet/geschichte/bericht.pdf (last retrieved 21. 12. 2020), on the question of rehabilitation see p. 5.

52 On this point see Leo Baeck Institute Archives, Memoir Collection (ME 559), p. 1.

53 The children had already left home: Dorothea Elisabeth was studying in Switzerland, where she later married; Sophie Charlotte was living with her husband in Hamburg; Peter Ralph was living in Zurich and was later interned in Australia; Gustav Victor came to join his parents in Bulawayo in 1939, see Leo Baeck Institute Archives, Memoir Collection (ME 559), p. 60.

54 See ibid.

55 See Manfred Mühlner, 'Begeisterte Liebe für die Ersterzeugnisse der Buchkunst. Die Inkunabelsammlung Victor von Klemperer', *Dresdner Hefte* 15/49 (1997), pp. 55 – 60, on this point p. 56.

56 Victor von Klemperer, *Frühdrucke aus der Bücherei Victor von Klemperer* (Dresden, 1927), p. 7 (preface).

57 SächsStA-D, 10747 Kreishauptmannschaft Dresden, no. 3595, pp. 1 – 2, letter of 30. 3. 1940 from the head of the Saxon Ministeriums für Volksbildung to the Regierungspräsident concerning the 'seizure' ('Sicherstellung').

58 See https://nsraubgut.slub-dresden.de/restitutionen/1991/victor-klemperer-edler-von-klemenau/ (last retrieved 18. 3. 2021). See also the section 'The restitution of 1991' in the present article, p. 26.

59 From 1717 to 1786 the Porcelain Collection was housed in the Japanese Palace and from 1876 to 1945 in the Johanneum on Neumarkt, near to the Frauenkirche; since 1962 its home has been the Dresden Zwinger.

60 For the inventory of the Spitzner Collection, see SKD, Archiv der Porzellansammlung (Archive of the Dresden Porcelain Collection), inv. no. 352 a: Verzeichnis der Sammlung Dr. Spitzner, 1890.

61 See sale catalogue J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz' Söhne), Cologne, 'Katalog der ausgewählten und erstklassigen Sammlung Alt-Meißner Porzellan aller Stilrichtungen des XVIII. Jahrhunderts nebst einem Anhang Porzellan anderer Manufakturen des Herrn Rentners C. H. Fischer in Dresden', 22 – 25. 10. 1906; sale catalogue Galerie Hugo Helbing, Munich, 'Sammlung C. H. Fischer, Dresden. Porzellan, beschrieben von Prof. Dr. Ernst Zimmermann, Steingut und Fayence, beschrieben von Dr. Georg Lill', 13 – 15. 5. 1918; see also Sebastian Kuhn, 'Collecting Culture. The Taste for Eighteenth-Century German Porcelain', in *The Arnhold Collection of Meissen Porcelain 1710 – 50*, exh. cat. Frick Collection, New York, 2008, ed. Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, with an introducion by Henry Arnhold and essays by Heike Biedermann and Sebastian Kuhn, (New York, 2008), pp. 23 – 119, here p. 59.

62 See Monika Schlechte, 'CONSTELLATIO FELIX. Zum Dresdner Umfeld der Porzellansammlung Lisa und Heinrich Arnhold. Sammlungen – Auktionen – Handel' (2014), online at http://www.dr-schlechte.com/schlechte91constellatiofelix.pdf (last retrieved 21. 3. 2021).

63 See ibid.

64 See sale catalogue Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, cat. no. 1854, 'Porzellan: Meissen – China – Japan, Elfenbeinskulpturen, Gemälde und Waffen aus den Sächsischen Staatssammlungen – Johanneum – Grünes Gewölbe – Gemäldegalerie in Dresden', 12 – 14. 10. 1920 at the Sächsischer Kunstverein on Brühlsche Terrasse, Dresden.

65 See ibid., no. 1429 and no. 1430. On the response to this auction sale, see Adolph Donath, 'Die jüngsten Preise für Meißener Porzellan', *Der Kunstwanderer*, 1 (1919/20), pp. 69 – 72; idem, 'Die Dresdner Porzellan-Auktion', *Der Kunstwanderer*, 2 (1920/21), pp. 69 – 72.

66 Sale catalogue Galerie Hugo Helbing, Munich, 'Katalog einer Sammlung bedeutender Porzellane aus ausländischem Adelsbesitz', 26. 5. 1911, p. 26, no. 99, plate 16.

67 See Monika Schlechte, 'CONSTELLATIO FELIX. Zum Dresdner Umfeld der Porzellansammlung Lisa und Heinrich Arnhold. Sammlungen – Auktionen – Handel' (2014), accessible online at http://www.dr-schlechte.com/schlechte91constellatiofelix.pdf (last retrieved 21. 3. 2021).

68 Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Porzellansammlung Gustav von Klemperer* (Dresden, 1928), p. 13 (preface).

69 Ludwig Georg Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Dr. phil. and professor of history of art, was a curator at the Schlossmuseum Berlin.

70 See Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Porzellansammlung Gustav von Klemperer* (Dresden, 1928), pp. 13 – 14 (preface).

71 See sale catalogue Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, cat. no. 1933, 'Sammlung Darmstaedter, Berlin, europäisches Porzellan des XVIII. Jahrhunderts', 24 – 26. 3. 1925.

72 See Hans Buchheit, *Miniaturen aus der Sammlung Gustav von Klemperer* (Dresden, 1928).

73 See Manfred Mühlner, 'Begeisterte Liebe für die Ersterzeugnisse der Buchkunst. Die Inkunabelsammlung Victor von Klemperer', *Dresdner Hefte* 15/49 (1997), pp. 55 – 60, here pp. 58 – 59.

74 Archiv der SKD, 01/PS 007: Briefeingänge, fol. 126, letter of 6. 12. 1928 from Charlotte von Klemperer to the Porcelain Collection accompanying a complimentary copy of the catalogue of her husband's porcelain collection.

75 For the text of the law on the export of works of art, see *Der Kunstwanderer*, 1 (1919/20), December 1919 (first issue), pp. 166 – 167, with the 'Verordnung über die Ausfuhr von Kunstwerken' quoted from *Reichsgesetzblatt*, no. 236 of 11. 12. 1919, online at https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kunstwanderer1919_1920/0170 (last retrieved 30. 5. 2021).

76 For a fundamental account of this subject, see Maria Obenaus, *Für die Nation gesichert? Das 'Verzeichnis der national wertvollen Kunstwerke'. Entstehung, Etablierung und Instrumentalisierung 1919 – 1945* (Berlin, 2016).

77 Archiv der SKD, 01/PS 007: Briefeingänge, fols. 1 and 22. Correspondence of 5. 1. 1943 and 13. 1. 1920 between the Ministerium des Kultus und des öffentlichen Unterrichts and Zimmermann in which Zimmermann registers four porcelain sculptures. The dam with two whelps (SKD, Porzellansammlung, inv. no. PE 557) was one of the gifts of the von Klemperer family of 1991; the other three sculptures were amongst the Klemperer Collection's war losses.

78 See the article by Kathrin Iselt: 'The Dresden Villas of the von Klemperer Family', accessible online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007290, p. 4, nn. 21 and 22.

79 See ibid., p. 5.

80 Sabine Rudolph deals with the procedures surrounding the seizure of the Klemperer Collection in her essay 'The Expropriation of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection', accessible online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007287.

81 RGBl, I 1938, Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens der Juden, 26. 4. 1938, p. 414, accessible online at https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?apm=0&aid=dra&datum=19380004&seite=00000414&zoom=2 (last retrieved 31. 3. 2021). See also http://www.ns-quellen.at/gesetz_anzeigen_detail.php?gesetz_id=29310&action=B_Read (last retrieved 31. 3. 2021).

82 The reference was to Victor von Klemperer; see Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a. [Goods held in safe custody, von Klemperer collection and others], 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), letter of 22. 12. 1938 from the Geheime Staatspolizei Dresden to Fichtner, fol. 4.

83 Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a., 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), fols. 91 – 96, record ('Niederschrift') by Fichtner of the meeting at the Ministerium für Volksbildung of 23. 1. 1939, participants: Reuter, Fichtner, Posse, Neubert, von Manteuffel, Enking (for Müller), consultation on which pieces from the Klemperer Collection were to be acquired. In this connection, mention was also made of the art collection of Hermine Feist (1855 – 1933), which was however no longer available for acquisition (fol. 94), having been sold and auctioned off after 1933. The collection of Hermine Feist (1855 – 1933) at her villa on the Wannsee lake was legendary even in her own lifetime; like Herbert Otto von Klemperer, Feist was a member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst. See catalogue no. 71 of the Galerie Fischer, Luzern, 'Sammlung Frau Hermine Feist, Wannsee, Mobiliar des Herrn M., Lausanne und der Frau B. W., Clarens, bedeutende Gemäldesammlung [...]', 20 – 21 and 23 – 24 May 1941, lots no. 1 – 49; sale catalogue Sotheby's Zurich, 'The distinguished collection of a lady', 9 – 10. 12. 1997 (with a tribute on pp. 12 – 13).

84 Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a., 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), fol. 12, record of 23. 3. 1939 made by Fichtner after attending a meeting at the Wirtschaftsministerium and Reichskammer, inter alia, submission of application by the state of Saxony and possibility of acquisition at a modest price.

85 See Archiv der SKD, 01/PS 043, vol. 1: 1938 – 1940 Verwaltung des Kunstgutes, correspondence with the Collection administration, report on Speer's visit, 18. 5. 1939, fol. 210. In addition, Speer expressed the wish for the development of a plan for the museums quarter; preserved in the photographic archive of the Porcelain Collection are images of a model. On this matter, see Karin Müller-Kelwing, *Zwischen Kunst, Wissenschaft und Politik. Die Staatlichen Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft in Dresden und ihre Mitarbeiter im Nationalsozialismus*, publication of the SKD, ed. Gilbert Lupfer (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar, 2020), pp. 128 – 129.

86 See Archiv der SKD, 01/PS 056: Jahresbericht (annual report) 1939/40, first air-raid protection measures, fol. 86.

87 Preserved in the Porcelain Collection's photographic archive is the sleeve of a negative bearing an annotation by Fichtner referring to the move of June 1940 necessitated by the special exhibition: 'Johanneum. Umzug Juni 1940 anlässlich Reichssonderschau'. See Archiv der SKD, 01/ PS 139: 'Brieftagebuch (Posteingangs- und -ausgangsbuch), 1939 – 1940', nos. 704 – 706, no pagination, correspondence between Haenel, Historisches Museum, and Dr von Watzdorf, 'concerning the exhibition "Frau und Mutter" on the second floor of the Johanneum, 3 and 4 June 1940'; 01/PS 056: annual reports, Jahresbericht 1940/41, fol. 96: 'Sonderausstellung "Frau und Mutter" im Johanneum, Meissen-Abteilung wurde verpackt und in ein Schloss transportiert' ('Special exhibition "Frau und Mutter" at the Johanneum, the Meissen section was packed up and transported to a schloss.'). I am most grateful to Karin Müller-Kelwing for having identified the 'Reichssonderschau' as the exhibition of the Rassenpolitisches Amt of the NSDAP.

88 The negative enclosed in the sleeve (SKD, Porzellansammlung, Archivsignatur FN_D_KK_41) shows a view dating from 1940 of the Johanneum, void of exhibits and full with packed-up crates.

89 SKD, Archiv der Porzellansammlung, 'Verzeichnis der außerhalb von Dresden geborgenen Kunstwerke der [as stamp] Staatlichen Porzellangalerie, Dresden-Zwinger' (Register of the evacuated art works of the State Porcelain Gallery, Zwinger, Dresden), no year (c. 1943).

90 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0805: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a. 1947 – 1991, fols. 174 – 175, letter of 30. 4. 1943 from Fichtner to Mutschmann concerning the duplicates. It is here that March 1943 is mentioned as the date of the evacuation.

91 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a., 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), fol. 210, Fichtner's record concerning the objection of the von Klemperer heirs to the planned sale of the porcelain collection, 29. 5. 1940.

92 Announcement of the confiscation of the assets of Victor and Ralph Leopold von Klemperer in the *Sächsisches Verwaltungsblatt*, no. 24, 18 February 1942, reproduced in Andreas Graul, *Gustav und Victor von Klemperer. Eine biographische Skizze* (Dresden, 2004), p. 147.

93 On this point see Adolf Diamant, *Chronik der Juden in Dresden. Von den ersten Juden bis zur Blüte der Gemeinde und deren Ausrottung* (Darmstadt, 1973), pp. 294 – 295 (copy of the letter of 17. 10. 1942 from Martin Mutschmann to the Oberfinanzpräsident of Dresden). Diamant refers to sources in the Bundesarchiv, holding R 43 II/1270.

94 See Adolf Diamant, *Chronik der Juden in Dresden. Von den ersten Juden bis zur Blüte der Gemeinde und deren Ausrottung* (Darmstadt, 1973), pp. 294 – 295 (copy of the letter of 17. 10. 1942 from Martin Mutschmann to the Oberfinanzpräsident of Dresden), here p. 295 (concerning the formulation of the wish for the collection to be transferred free of charge into museum ownership). See also the article by Sabine Rudolph: 'The Expropriation of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection', online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007287.

95 Posse was director of the Dresden State Picture Gallery from 1910 to 1942, for a thorough and fundamental account, see Gilbert Lupfer and Thomas Rudert (eds.), *Kennerschaft zwischen Macht und Moral. Annäherungen an Hans Posse (1879 – 1942)* (Cologne, 2015).

96 On this, see Adolf Diamant, *Chronik der Juden in Dresden. Von den ersten Juden bis zur Blüte der Gemeinde und deren Ausrottung* (Darmstadt, 1973), with the arguments presented for the takeover of the collections: pp. 297 – 298 (letter of 24. 12. 1941 from the director of the Saxon State Library, Neubert, to the head of the Ministerium für Volksbildung); p. 299 (letter of 17. 1. 1942 from Fichtner, 'Begründung der Überweisung der Sammlung sächsischer Porzellane und kunstgewerblicher Gegenstände aus dem Besitze des Juden Klemperer an das Land Sachsen' ['Justification for the transfer of the collection of Saxon porcelain and decorative arts objects from the ownership of the Jew Klemperer']); p. 294 (letter of endorsement from Mutschmann and Posse [letter of 17. 10. 1942 from Reichstatthalter Mutschmann to the Oberfinanzpräsident of Dresden]); p. 296, ('Befürwortungsschreiben' of 18. 11. 1942 from Posse to Reichsleiter Bormann). Diamant refers to sources in the Bundesarchiv, holding R 43 II/1270.

97 Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804: Verwahrgut Sammlung Klemperer u. a. 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), fols. 102 – 103, copies of documents held at the Bundesarchiv, holding R 43 II/1272a. That duplicates from the Klemperer family's collection of porcelain, incunabula and books were to be extracted for the Führer Museum in Linz is shown by the following sources: SächsHStA-D, 11125 Ministerium des Kultus und öffentlichen Unterrichts, no. 18834/2, fol. 12, letter of 1. 4. 1943 from the special commissioner for Linz, Voss, to the head of the ministry (Ministerialdirektor) Gottschald; fol. 48, letter of 25. 8. 1943 from Fichtner to Voss; fols. 50 – 51, letter of 31. 8. 1943 from the special commissioner for Linz, Reimer, to Reichsstatthalter Mutschmann. For greater detail with a focus on Voss, see Kathrin Iselt, *Sonderbeauftragter des Führers. Der Kunsthistoriker und Museumsmann Hermann Voss (1884 – 1969)* (Cologne/Weimar, 2010).

98 SächsSTA-D, 11125 Ministerium des Kultus und öffentlichen Unterrichts, no. 18834/2, fol. 1, letter of 13. 1. 1943 from the Reichsstatthalter to the head of the Ministerium für Volksbildung (with a transcription of the letter of 4. 1. 1943 from the Reichsminister der Finanzen, Berlin, who in the text quoted was repeating content from Hitler's order of 29. 11. 1942.

99 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0805: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a. 1947–1991, fols. 174–175, letter of 30. 4. 1943 from Fichtner to Mutschmann concerning the duplicates. This is where it is mentioned that the evacuation of the art treasures took place in March 1943.

100 See n. 90.

101 While the Zwinger's cellar corridors had been made splinter-proof with sandbags, it was not thought that this would afford sufficient protection in the case of air raids. As a result, plans were made to open up and extend the casemates located over the moat-like pond on the west side of the Zwinger and, on 7 September 1939, to accommodate the Meissen department in the casemates on Brühlsche Terrasse (entered from Georg-Treu-Platz); see Archiv der SKD, 01/PS 061: Sicherheit, Luftschutz, Unterbringung und Ausstattung der Sammlung, Aufstellung der Porzellane u. a. 1939–1940, Bergungsbeginn, no pagination.

102 SKD, Archiv der Porzellansammlung, 'Verzeichnis der außerhalb von Dresden geborgenen Kunstwerke der [as stamp] Staatlichen Porzellangalerie, Dresden', no year (c. 1943). The original document appears to be lost. In the photographic archive of the Dresden Porcelain Collection are two photographs of rooms at Schloss Rammenau that are filled with wooden crates (see figs. 20 and 21). Sadly, no reference markings can be made out on the crates that would provide definite information about their contents.

103 See Ernst Zimmermann, *Führer durch die Staatliche Porzellansammlung zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1928).

104 See Manfred Mühlner, 'Begeisterte Liebe für die Ersterzeugnisse der Buchkunst. Die Inkunabelsammlung Victor von Klemperer', *Dresdner Hefte* 15/49 (1997), pp. 55–60.

105 See Archiv der SKD, 01/PS 056, annual reports, 'Jahresbericht 1940–1941', fol. 95, concerning the state of the 'Bunker' that was flooded in a storm in May 1941, and 'Jahresbericht 1941–1942', fol. 106, concerning the safekeeping and guarding of the art treasures.

106 The crates in question were those with the numbers 6, 7, 11 and possibly also 2. See SKD, Archiv der Porzellansammlung, 'Verzeichnis der außerhalb von Dresden geborgenen Kunstwerke der [as stamp] Staatlichen Porzellangalerie, Dresden', no year (c. 1943), where crate no. 2 is once again listed as being destined for Rothschönberg. On this account it is not possible to establish where the crate actually was on that night.

107 Archiv der SKD, 02/VA 53: Auslagerung und Umlagerung des Kunstgutes des Residenzschlosses, der Katholischen Hofkirche, des Mathematisch-Physikalischen Salons, der Porzellangalerie, des Kunstgewerbemuseums, der Gemäldegalerie, des Historischen Museums/Rüstkammer und Kunstgutes anderer Einrichtungen (geheim), 1939–1945, 1963, 1987, unpag., letter of 5. 3. 1945 (for information) from [Albert] Gruve (senior civil servant, Ministry of Education) to the director of the Porcelain Gallery. Although Fritz Fichtner gave instructions that the shards should be carefully sorted, he left Saxony for Bavaria on 8 May 1945 immediately after the end of the war. See Karin Müller-Kellwing, *Zwischen Kunst, Wissenschaft und Politik. Die Staatlichen Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft in Dresden und ihre Mitarbeiter im Nationalsozialismus*, publication of the SKD, ed. Gilbert Lupfer (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar, 2020), p. 308.

108 Archiv der SKD, 02/VA 10, vol. 2: Rückführung von Kunstgut und Erwerbungen für die Porzellansammlung, das Münzkabinett und die Skulpturensammlung, 1945–1955, 1961, letter of 18. 2. 1953 from Hans Nadler, Institut für Denkmalpflege, to the Dresden State Art Collections, p. 171r/v.

109 Since then, all the shards salvaged have been kept along with other damaged objects of the Porcelain Collection have been kept in the 'Scherbendepot' (shards depository). – After initially being assistant to Hilde Rakebrand (1901–1991), Ingelore Menzhausen was acting head of the Dresden Porcelain Collection from 1964 bis 1968 and director from 1968 to 1985. In 1951/52 Rakebrand was responsible for the installation of the Porcelain Gallery and the Pewter Collection at the Zwinger. From 1955 to 1958 she was head and from 1958 to 1964 director of the Porcelain Collection and Museum of Applied Arts of the Dresden State Art Collections.

110 These were the crates no. 1, 2, 3, 5, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 24, though crate no. 2 was already earmarked for the transport to Dresden, see SKD, Archiv der Porzellansammlung, 'Verzeichnis der außerhalb von Dresden geborgenen Kunstwerke der [as stamp] Staatlichen Porzellangalerie, Dresden', no year (c. 1943).

111 Sale catalogue Galerie Hugo Helbing, Munich, 'Katalog einer Sammlung bedeutender Porzellane aus ausländischem Adelsbesitz', 26. 5. 1911, p. 26, no. 99, plate 16.

112 Account given by Hannes Walter (March 2019), managing director of the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory 1990 – 2008, on the provenance of the clock case in the manufactory's display collection (inv. no. 4760); my thanks go to Anja Hell (managing director, Meissen Porzellan-Stiftung GmbH) for providing this information.

113 Information on the colours is provided in the description contained in the 1928 catalogue of the Klemperer Collection.

114 These were the crates no. 14 and 15; see SKD, Archiv der Porzellansammlung, 'Verzeichnis der außerhalb von Dresden geborgenen Kunstwerke der [as stamp] Staatlichen Porzellangalerie, Dresden', no year (c. 1943).

115 See Karin Müller-Kellwing, *Zwischen Kunst, Wissenschaft und Politik. Die Staatlichen Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft in Dresden und ihre Mitarbeiter im Nationalsozialismus*, publication of the SKD, ed. Gilbert Lupfer (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar, 2020), pp. 384 – 385.

116 See Archiv der SKD, 02/VA 058, vol. 2: Sicherung und Rückführung des staatlichen und privaten Kunstgutes nach Orten P – R, 1945 – 1950, fol. 205, Gruve's report to Balzer, state of the evacuation crates, 21. 6. 1945; fols. 205 – 206, official record by Gruve of a visit by Wegner and himself to the State Museums' storage depots, 21. 6. 1945; fol. 207, pass for the taxidermist ('Präparator') Dähmig, Regierungsassistent Leuschner, the electrician Weber and the collection supervisor Rieger, issued by the Oberbürgermeister of Dresden, authorizing the persons in question to put the cultural property stored at Schloss Reichstädt in order, 30. 6. 1945; fol. 210, report by Gruve concerning the attempt to transport the cultural property away from Reichstädt, 27. 8. 1945.

117 Sale catalogue Christie's London, 'Continental Ceramics', 30. 9. 1991, lot 152.

118 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a. 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), letter of 19. 4. 1948 from Balzer to Gruve, fol. 40 a/b. Albert Gruve was a senior civil servant at the Ministry of Education until 1945 and had particular responsibility for the evacuation of cultural property; from 1947 to 1959 he worked at the Saxon office of the State Palaces and Gardens (Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten) and from 1959 to 1971 at the SKD archive.

119 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804 Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a. 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), 'Liste der restlichen Gegenstände aus der Porzellansammlung der Brüder Klemperer' ('List of the remaining objects from the porcelain collection of the Klemperer brothers'), composed by Leuschner on 2 April 1948, fol. 54.

120 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804 Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a. 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), fol. 60 a/b, letter of 30. 10. 1948 from Herbert von Klemperer to the director of the museum at Schloss Moritzburg.

121 See ibid., letter of 24. 12. 1947 from Albert Gruve, Hauptverwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser. Museen und Gärten, to the government of Saxony (Landesregierung), fol. 41 a/b.

122 Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0805: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer, Schriftwechsel zur Klärung sowie zur Organisation der Rückgabe und Schenkung der Sammlung von Klemperer, 1947 – 1991, fol. 149, report of Ingelore Menzhausen to the Dresden Bezirksgericht, 7. 3. 1983; ibid., 02/GD 0806: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer, Schriftwechsel zur Klärung sowie zur Organisation der Rückgabe und Schenkung der Sammlung von Klemperer, 1988 – 1991, fol. 225, file memo made in November 1988 by Ingelore Menzhausen concerning a visit by Gustav Victor von Klemperer in July 1984. In both cases, Menzhausen makes reference to the lorry parked in the Residence courtyard.

123 Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804: Verwahrgut Sammlung Klemperer u. a. 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), fols. 212 – 219, correspondence between Klemperer and the Kulturgutschutzkommission, here fols. 213 – 214; letter of 18. 6. 1985 from Schmeichler to Gustav Victor von Klemperer, in answer to a letter of 4. 4. 1984(!) from Klemperer to the Ministerium für Kultur. In Schmeichler's letter, it is pointed out that the porcelain from Gustav von Klemperer's collection is protected cultural property of the GDR and that if the heirs were to apply for it to be taken out of the country, the application would have 'no prospect of success'. Furthermore, the letter stated, the open questions related to the proprietorship of the heirs were closely connected with the unsolved problems existing between the East and West Germany concerning property and assets. See the article by Sabine Rudolph: 'The Expropriation of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection', online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007287.

124 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer u. a. 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996 correspondence between Klemperer and the Kulturgutschutzkommission, fols. 212 – 219, here fol. 218, offer of gift.

125 Werner Schmidt (1930 – 2010) was director general of the SKD from 1989 to 1997.

126 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0806: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer, Schriftwechsel zur Klärung sowie zur Organisation der Rückgabe und Schenkungen der Sammlung von Klemperer 1988 – 1991, consultation on restitution, 12. 7. 1990, fol. 297. Werner Schmeichler, museologist and director of the department for museums and conservation of historical monuments at the Ministry of Culture, had been appointed chairman of the commission on 27. 10. 1982; see Johanna Marschall-Reiser, 'Der Bestand DR 136, Kommission des Ministeriums für Kultur zum

Schutz des Kulturgutes (Kulturgutschutzkommission)', *Mitteilungen aus dem Bundesarchiv*, 14/2 (2006), pp. 79 – 88, hier p. 82, accessible online at https://www.bundesarchiv.de/DE/Content/Publikationen/Mitteilungen/mitteilungen-2006-2.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (last retrieved 31. 5. 2021).

127 Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0806: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer, Schriftwechsel zur Klärung sowie zur Organisation der Rückgabe und Schenkung der Sammlung von Klemperer, 1988 – 1991, fols. 299 – 302, internal communication of 19. 6. 1990 from the Kulturgutschutzkommission, Schmeichler, by way of the head of department, Dr Barsch, to the Minister for Culture, Schirmer, fol. 301, quotation. Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0806: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer, Schriftwechsel zur Klärung sowie zur Organisation der Rückgabe und Schenkung der Sammlung von Klemperer, 1988 – 1991, fol. 301.

128 Ibid, here fol. 300.

129 Manfred Mühlner was director of special collections at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek and represented the library's director Burghard Burgemeister (1925 – 2003, director from 1959 to 1990).

130 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0806: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer, Schriftwechsel zur Klärung so wie zur Organisation der Rückgabe und Schenkung der Sammlung von Klemperer, 1988 – 1991, record of the meeting between Gustav Victor von Klemperer, Werner Schmidt (SKD, director general), Klaus-Peter Arnold (Porzellansammlung), Manfred Mühlner (Landesbibliothek), Werner (forename unspecified, representative of the Ministry of Culture of the GDR), Schönbrunn (representative of the Ministry of Science and Education of the GDR), 6. 9. 1990, fols. 314 – 315.

131 Klaus-Peter Arnold was director of the Dresden Porcelain Collection from 1985 to 1993.

132 See sale catalogue Christie's London, 'Continental Ceramics', 30. 9. 1991, lot 175.

133 Archiv der Staatlichen Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, AA I ab 51: work report of J. J. Kaendler, fol. 303 b, and report for December 1743, fol. 32, 'Taxa'. At the Christie's sale, the bust of the 'Mater dolorosa' went for £ 41,800.

134 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0806: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer, Schriftwechsel zur Klärung sowie zur Organisation der Rückgabe und Schenkung der Sammlung von Klemperer, 1988 – 1991, contract of gift of 21. 1. 1991, fols. 450 – 457. Until recently it was assumed that the porcelain objects restituted were 86 in number, of which 63 were gifted. In the research project 'Reconstruction of the Porcelain Collection of the Dresden Banker Gustav von Klemperer' these numbers were checked and it was found that one object, a teapot (inv. no. PE 5330 a/b), should not have been restituted as it is not the same teapot as the one recorded in the 1928 catalogue of the Klemperer Collection, no. 112 (plate 20), a fact of which the von Klemperer family members were unaware when they gifted the teapot to the Porcelain Collection. Consequently, the original number of 86 porcelain objects restituted was corrected to 85 and that of 63 objects gifted to 62. In 2012, however, the actual teapot from the Klemperer Collection was restituted to the von Klemperer family by the Bavarian National Museum, Munich, Stiftung Ernst Schneider, Lustheim, following which the museum purchased the teapot (inv. no. L ES 324 a-b) with support from the Friends of the Bavarian National Museum. The teapot had been acquired by Ernst Schneider (1900 – 1977) before 1968. The previous owner is unknown. 1968 was the year in which Ernst Schneider donated his collection to the Bavarian National Museun, see Julia Weber *Meißener Porzellane mit Dekoren nach ostasiatischen Vorbildern*, 2 vols., publication of the Stiftung Ernst Schneider, Schloss Lustheim, and Renate Eikelmann (Munich, 2013) vol. 2, pp. 334 – 335, no. 321.

135 Ernst Zimmermann, 'Die Unterbringung der Porzellansammlung im Zwinger', *Mitteilungen aus den Sächsischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1 (1910), pp. 31 – 39; Fritz Fichtner, *Die Staatliche Porzellangalerie Zwinger. Ein Forschungsinstitut der keramischen Wissenschaft* (Dresden, 1940).

136 See Klemperer catalogue of 1928, no. 614, plate 65.

137 The Order of St Andrew was the emblem of the Preobrazhensky Lifeguard Regiment.

138 See Klemperer catalogue 1928, no. 549 and no. 550, plate 63.

139 See ibid., no. 670 and no. 671.

140 See Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0805: Verwahrgut Sammlung von Klemperer, Schriftwechsel zur Klärung sowie zur Organisation der Rückgabe und Schenkung der Sammlung von Klemperer, 1947 – 1991, fol. 108, file memo of Klaus-Peter Arnold, director of the Porzellansammlung, 11. 11. 1990: '*re* shards from Klemperer Collection figures. The extant shards are fragments of what would appear to be 48 no longer complete figures. This includes small parts – in particular trophies – of the large arch of honour, of which [of the arch] larger-sized remains are still lying in the cellar depot. A[rnold]. 11. 9. 90.' These shards and fragments were not included in the restitution agreed in 1991.

141 Regarding the 'Leuschner list', see Archiv der SKD, 02/GD 0804: Fremdbesitz/Verwahrgut 1938 – 1986 (1990, 1991, 1996), fol. 54: 'Liste der restlichen Gegenstände aus der Porzellansammlung der Brüder Klemperer', composed by Leuschner on 2 April 1948. Arthur Leuschner (1883 – 1960) worked for the Dresden Porcelain Collection from 1940

to 1948; he was assistant to the director Fritz Fichtner, as whose deputy he was responsible for the evacuation of the porcelain. After 1945, the museum administration was thus dependent on Leuschner for his first-hand experience and knowledge; see Karin Müller-Kellwing, *Zwischen Kunst, Wissenschaft und Politik. Die Staatlichen Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft in Dresden und ihre Mitarbeiter im Nationalsozialismus*, publication of the SKD, ed. Gilbert Lupfer (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar, 2020), pp. 384 – 385.

142 One person who rose to this challenge with remarkable success was Corina Sallani, who at the time was working at the Porcelain Collection as a research assistant on the Daphne Project; see Corina Sallani, 'Die schwierige Rekonstruktion eines hundertjährigen Leihverhältnisses – zum Schwanenservice des Grafen von Brühl', *Dresdener Kunstblätter*, 56/2 (2012), pp. 123 – 129. On the museum's database and the Daphne Project at the SKD, see http://forschung.skd.museum/projekte/details/c/pC/a/show/project/142-daphne/ (last retrieved 3. 5. 2021) and the relevant special issue of the above journal, *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 65 (2021), no. 3.

143 Sale catalogue Bonhams London, 'Fine European Ceramics including porcelain from the von Klemperer Collection', 8. 12. 2010.

144 See among others Archiv der SKD, 02/VA 059: 'Sicherung und Rückführung des staatlichen und privaten Kunstgutes u. a. 1943 – 1948, 1950, 1953, 1959 – 1961', fols. 87 ff., and ibid., fols. 93 ff., register of the porcelain pieces fetched from Leuben on 28 October 1959. In Dresden the beaker was given the inventory number PE 940. It was sold at Christie's, London; see sale catalogue Christie's London, 'Continental Ceramics', 30. 9. 1991, lot 158 (with ill.).

145 Link to the Lost Art Database with the losses from the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection: http://www.lostart.de/DE/Verlust/592767 (as at 1. 6. 2021).

146 www.skd.museum/gustav-von-klemperer.

147 See the article by Kathrin Iselt: 'The Dresden Villas of the von Klemperer Family', accessible online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007290.

148 See the article by Andreas Graul: 'The Bankers Gustav and Victor von Klemperer', accessible online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007288.

149 See the article by Sabine Rudolph: 'The Expropriation of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection', online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007287.

150 See Leo Baeck Institute Archives, Memoir Collection (ME 559); the memoirs of Victor von Klemperer are accessible online at https://links.cjh.org/primo/lbi/CJH_ALEPH000201034 (last retrieved 7. 5. 2021).

151 See the article by Michaela Howse: 'The Art of Golden Repair: A Personal View on the Unique Work of Justice in Restitution and Remembrance Culture', accessible online at https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007289. The quotation comes from the end of the essay, p. 11.

Image rights

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München
10 class mark: 4 Inc.c.a. 1133, fol. 2v (sheet 6), fol. 20r (sheet 41)

Bonhams London
32, 39 sale cat. Bonhams London, 'Fine European Ceramics including porcelain from the von Klemperer Collection', 8.12.2010, lot no. 43, formerly SKD, Porzellansammlung, inv. no. PE 120; lots no. 48, 49, formerly SKD, Porzellansammlung, inv. no. PE 1406 und PE 3700

von Klemperer family
2, 7–9, 11, 12, 28

Sächsische Landes- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Deutsche Fotothek
23 photo no. df_hauptkatalog_0080028, photograph: Alfred Wernicke

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (SKD)

Archiv
3, 4, 5 Fotoarchiv, 920 Mappe 9, Foto 3041, 3035, 3036 (von Klemperer family);
17 Bestandsergänzende Sammlungen Kunstgewerbemuseum, archive class mark 937, SKD_KM_1746

Münzkabinett
1 inv. no. 1964/542

Porzellansammlung
6 inv. no. PO 3235, photo: Adrian Sauer, Leipzig; **25** inv. no. PE 8273 a–d, photo: Adrian Sauer, Leipzig;
30 without inv. no., photo: Corina Sallani, Dresden; **33** inv. no. PE 190, photo: Werner Lieberknecht, Dresden;
34 inv. nos. PE 530 and PE 531, photo: Adrian Sauer; Leipzig; **35** inv. no. PE 168, photo: Jürgen Lösel, Dresden;
36 formerly SKD, Porzellansammlung, without inv. no., photo: Corina Sallani, Dresden

Porzellansammlung, Archiv
22 'Verzeichnis der außerhalb von Dresden geborgenen Kunstwerke der [as stamp:] Staatlichen Porzellangalerie, Dresden-Zwinger'; no pagination, no year (c. 1943); **24** preparatory proof for the catalogue of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection (Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Porzellansammlung Gustav von Klemperer* (Dresden, 1928)), no. 44 b

Porzellansammlung, Fotoarchiv, archive class mark
15 FN_A_142; **16** GN_A_2; **18** FN_D_1; **19** GN_A_66; **19** PA_A_114; **20** PA_A_114; **21** PA_A_115; **38** GN_A_1

Porzellansammlung, reproductions from: Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Porzellansammlung Gustav von Klemperer *(Dresden, 1928)*
13 no. 547, p. 141, plate 58; **14** no. 548, p. 142, plate 59; **26** no. 481, p. 118, plate 45; **27** no. 114, p. 61, plate 22;
29 no. 682, p. 182, plate 88; **31** no. 561, p. 147, plate 52; **37** no. 326, p. 102, plate 35; **40** no. 19, p. 38, plate 3;
41 no. 129, p. 66, plate 28

Impressum

The present article was written in the framework of the research project 'The Reconstruction of the Porcelain Collection of the Dresden Banker Gustav von Klemperer (1852–1926)' of the Porcelain Collection of the Dresden State Art Collections, sponsored by the German Lost Art Foundation.

Publisher
Dresden State Art Collections, Porcelain Collection
PSF 120 551, 01006 Dresden, Tel. (0351) 4914 2000
Email: porzellansammlung@skd.museum
www.skd.museum

Author
Anette Loesch

Translation from German
John Nicholson and Sophie Kidd

Copy-editing
Jenny Brückner, Dresden State Art Collections
Sina Volk, Sandstein Verlag

General editing
Anette Loesch, Dresden State Art Collections

Design
Simone Antonia Deutsch and Katharina Stark, Sandstein Verlag

Bibliographic information of the German National Libary
The German National Library lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

arthistoricum.net
FACHINFORMATIONSDIENST KUNST · FOTOGRAFIE · DESIGN

Published on ART-Dok – Publikationsplattform Kunst- und Bildwissenschaften,
Heidelberg University Library 2021.

Anette Loesch
SAMMLUNG – RAUB – VERLUST – RESTITUTION – SCHENKUNG.
Die Porzellansammlung Gustav von Klemperers
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72866
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7286
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007286

Anette Loesch: COLLECTED – EXPROPRIATED – LOST – RESTITUTED – GIFTED:
The Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72925
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7292
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007292

A number of other essays were written in the framework of the research project 'The Reconstruction of the Porcelain Collection of the Dresden Banker Gustav von Klemperer (1852–1926)':

Andreas Graul
Die Bankiers Gustav und Victor von Klemperer
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72882
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7288
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007288

Andreas Graul: The Bankers Gustav and Victor von Klemperer
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72940
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7294
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007294

Michaela Howse
The Art of Golden Repair: A Personal View on the Unique Work of Justice
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72891
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7289
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007289

Michaela Howse: Die Kunst der goldenen Reparatur: Eine persönliche Sicht darauf, was es bedeutet, in der Restitutions- und Gedenkkultur Gerechtigkeit zu üben
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72954
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7295
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007295

Kathrin Iselt
Die Dresdner Villen der Familie von Klemperer
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72900
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7290
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007290

Kathrin Iselt: The Dresden Villas of the von Klemperer Family
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72968
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7296
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007296

Sabine Rudolph
Die Entziehung der Porzellansammlung Gustav von Klemperers
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72878
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7287
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007287

Sabine Rudolph: The Expropriation of the Gustav von Klemperer Porcelain Collection
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-72934
URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2021/7293
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007293

The research project was sponsored by:

Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste

Familie von Klemperer

The publication of the findings was sponsored by:

Freundeskreis der Porzellansammlung im Zwinger e.V.

GKF
Gesellschaft der Keramikfreunde